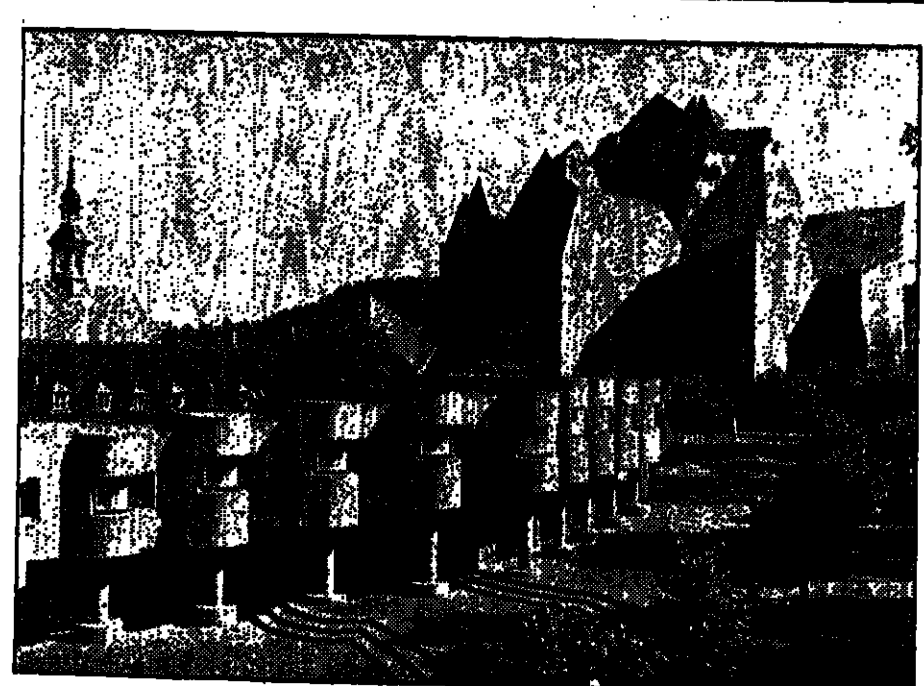
Germany's churches and cathedrals

Everyone knows, of course, that in Cologne, Worms, Freiburg, Aachen, Ulm and elsewhere ancient Gothic and Romanesque cathedrals tower up like castles into the sky. Impressive structures down to the very treasures in their vaults. For even here, in this land of industry, tourism, Inter-City trains, airlines and motorways, churches, cathedrals and chapels have more than a spiritual function. They are reminders, thought-provoking. Cherished as artistic masterpieces. Take, for instance, the delightful Romanesque church in Dietkirchen on the Lahn. Or the enchanting Wieskirche, surrounded by the woods and meadows of the Alpine foothills in Upper Bavaria. Clear, serene, rococo splendour. Just two examples from many thousands. "Churches," as James Joyce wrote in 1915 on a Rhine journey, "like miracles from heaven."

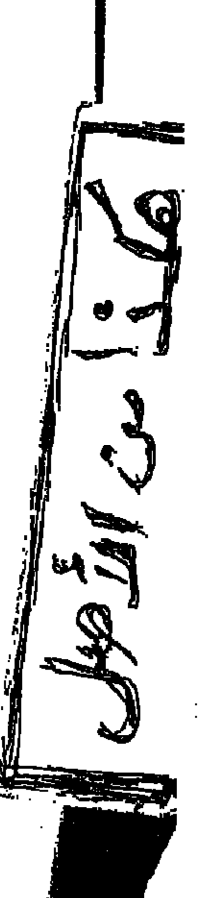




Bamberg, Bavaria

Velbert Neviges Church in the Ruhr

DZT DEUTSCHE ZENTR FÜR TOURISMUS E
Beethovenstrasse 69, D-6000 Frankf



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EEC closes ranks on foreign policy

Common Market countries propose adopting a joint approach international crises.

years of words, the 10 have now galvanised into action.

they intend to do was worked London at a meeting of EEC foreign ministers.

Common Market countries have ranks because they feel closer ties assuring in a world where the atmosphere has taken a distinct turn for worse again.

Britain's Lord Carrington suggested a speech to the Übersee Club in last November, foreign ministers to convene within 48 hours of

the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan took them over three months to together.

small staff of first-rate specialists and 10 Foreign Ministries will serve rotating political secretariat.

three main aspects of a policy European foreign policy by Lord Carrington, by Bonn's Hans-Dietrich Genscher and by Italy's Emilio Colombo at this organisational improvement. They are disarmament, East-West ties a common peace policy for the Middle East.

Disarmament: The European Community is to try to enlist Soviet support for a European disarmament conference as proposed by France.

East-West ties: When an EEC Foreign Minister visits Warsaw, Budapest, Berne or Moscow, his views are no longer to differ substantially from those of his nine counterparts.

Priority is to be given to a joint approach to peace in the Middle East. Lord Carrington, the current chairman of the EEC Council of Ministers, is to explain in Riyadh the European Community's views on the peace proposals of Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Fahd.

These proposals both call for Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territory and include, for the first time, the prospect of recognition of Israel by the Arab world.

Europe can count itself lucky that the crisis in world affairs come at a time when two key EEC countries are working towards comprehensive consolidation of the Common Market.

They are Britain, where the Conservatives are in power, and France, where the Socialists head the government.

The Community development programme of President Mitterrand includes proposals which would have been welcome from his predecessors, but were not made.

The French head of state lists ideas ranging from a common energy policy to a joint policy of developing key industries for the future.

Besides, the London decisions on a common foreign policy would have been inconceivable had the Gaullists still held power in Paris.

What, then, may come of the ideas put forward by Bonn's Foreign Minister, Herr Genscher, on a European Union? He and Lord Carrington have for months pleaded the cause of a common approach to foreign and security policy.

Common Market countries such as Italy and the Benelux states would follow suit without a moment's hesitation. A draft tabled jointly by Bonn and Rome could be ready in time for the late-November London EEC summit.

But misgivings have been voiced. America must not, it has been pointed out, gain the impression that the European it offers protection plan to go it alone.

That is why all organised attempts to arrive at a common EEC policy are being kept to a low profile.

There are two reasons why this circumspection is advisable. For one, EEC foreign policy will be sure to differ somewhat from America's, especially in the Middle East.

Second, the United States is both an Atlantic and a Pacific power. In a few years' time it will no longer be dependent on oil from the Middle East (unlike Western Europe).

So American interests clearly do not always tally with those of the European Community.

The conclusions the Common Market is beginning to reach are that European foreign policy may not always go hand in hand with America's but that free partnership with the United States is desirable.

This is a point on which all the Ten are agreed.

Hermann Bohle

(Der Tagesspiegel, 16 October 1981)

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THE GERMAN TRIBUNE is conducting a readership survey. With some this week a postcard is included. Please fill it in and return as quickly as possible. DO NOT fill in the card if you have already done so this year.



Jovial after surgery

Chancellor Schmidt leaving hospital in Koblenz with his wife, Loki, after a heart operation in which a pacemaker was installed. He was quickly back at work. (See page 3). (Photo: dpa)

Nato countries discuss war and peace

Parliamentarians in Nato countries are finding it difficult to come to terms with the peace movement, according to delegates at the 27th annual conference of the North Atlantic Assembly in Munich.

The movement is by no means limited to the Federal Republic of Germany, and speakers made it clear that it is jeopardising the unifying effect of external threat.

The 14 Nato nations were represented by 172 members of the 14 legislatures.

Chancellor Schmidt sent a message to the meeting from his sickbed in Koblenz. He referred to Nato as the largest peace organisation of them all.

He also said, very much in line with Nato policy, that peacekeeping would be a major item on the agenda of his talks with Mr Brezhnev.

The declared aim of the North Atlantic pact is to keep and safeguard the peace by means of an active policy, preferably on the basis of an East-West balance of power at as low a level as possible.

This consistent Nato policy line has invariably held the Western alliance together despite the different paths member-countries have chosen at times to tread.

The external threat from the East, often posed by so many power-political activities on the Kremlin's part, has played a key role in ensuring that the justification for Nato's existence has never been seriously questioned.

Richard Stücklen, president of the Bonn Bundestag, was mistaken in defining the peace movement as a minority that had been struck blind.

So was Mr Duffy, representing the British Labour Party, who seriously called on Nato to endorse the peace movement and so to undermine its own resolutions.

Views thus varied, just as they differed on the attitude Nato ought to take on a Middle East settlement.

This showed at least that beginnings of a change in the general tenor of opinion in Western Europe were starting to make their mark on Nato.

What, then, was to be done with supporters of the peace movement who could not be dismissed as the Kremlin's fifth column?

What was the right attitude to adopt towards people motivated solely by anxiety about arms stockpiles in East and West going up with a bang?

In the past defence pacts in general and Nato in particular have based their public relations work on condiserations of military strategy without which defence policies are out of the question.

It is now clear that more attention must be paid to powers of conviction too.

A wide-ranging majority of Western European opinion is in favour of Nato and its aims. Forward public relations work must play its part in ensuring that Nato continues to enjoy this support.

Objectively but with a sense of commitment, it must outline the part Nato plays in keeping the peace, in ensuring social progress and in upholding the freedoms that are the bedrock of all Western democracies.

The Americans have indicated to the Russians that they are willing to talk about more than Euromissiles, where the Russians clearly hold the upper hand.

Washington would also be willing to talk about a balance of power at all levels of armament.

This is surely a point at which powers of persuasion could be used to good effect right now.

Bodo Schulte

(Nordwest Zeitung, 16 October 1981)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Cancun summit: wrestling with the problems of two hemispheres

The leaders of 22 countries met in Cancun, Mexico, to review problems facing the developing world and to try and restart North-South dialogue.

They hoped to pave the way for global negotiations under UN auspices in the course of which the two hemispheres were to come to terms.

The North-South summit was held partly in view of a recommendation in the Brandt Report.

It must be seen against the background of the dramatic deterioration in the position of the developing countries, especially the poorest.

World population is rapidly increasing. Hundreds of billions of dollars are squandered on armaments. The destruction of man's natural habitat continues unabated.

The world's population is about 4.5 billion. By the end of the century it is expected to reach 6.5 billion, including about two billion living in absolute poverty and one billion suffering from manutrition.

So despite the cultivation of high-yield varieties of wheat or rice, despite improve irrigation techniques and farming methods, food problems will grow worse.

They would be easier to solve if only some six million hectares of arable and pasture land in the drier parts of the world were not reclaimed by the desert every year.

In Sudan, for instance, the Sahara has moved 90km south over the past 17 years. Along the northern perimeter of the Sahara about 100,000 hectares a year are lost to the desert.

About 200,000 to 300,000 hectares a year all over the world grow unsuitable for cultivation as a result of unsatisfactory irrigation. Either salt or alkali makes the land barren.

Even worse, a fifth of the world's agricultural acreage is threatened or affected by erosion.

Growing ecological problems result from inordinate and one-sided exploitation of natural resources, from more and more exhaust fumes, effluent and waste.

Depopulation of the countryside leads to more slums and additional environmental problems.

In 1950 there were 48 million people in the Third World who lived in cities with a population of over one million. By 1985 there will, in all probability, be nearly 500 million living in 147 gigantic cities.

Already up to half the inhabitants of many cities are slum-dwellers.

The developing countries' share in world trade increased only slightly in the 70s. It still amounts to no more than a quarter, including the Opec countries' 10 per cent.

Their main trading partners are the industrialised countries, who account for about two thirds of the developing countries' imports and exports, whereas only a quarter of their exports go to the Third World.

The developing countries still earn most of their export revenue from marketing raw materials; in some countries commodity exports account for 80 or 90 per cent of the total.

On aggregate the industrialised countries remain in surplus in their trade with the Third World, although exceptions prove the rule.

The Federal Republic of Germany, for instance, is in deficit in trade with overseas developing countries.

The balance of payments of many developing countries has taken a dramatic turn for the worse even though net capital transfers to the Third World increased from \$19bn in 1970 to \$81bn in 1979 and the developing countries fund 80 per cent of their investment.

Yet the Third World's overall debts have increased from \$100bn to \$350bn, or more than trebled, in this period and a number of developing countries have been unable to meet their commitments.

At the end of last year Bonn agreed with 17 of the world's poorest countries to write off loans which, with interest payments, would have totalled DM3.5bn.

The higher price of energy is one of the main reasons why the developing countries are so deep in debt.

Their overall oil bill has increased from \$8bn in 1973 to \$70bn in 1980. It more than doubled in just two years.

Against this gloomy background it is easy to see why the developing countries are levelling extremely heavy demands at the industrialised world.

Their interests may no lon identical but the Third World co still share a number of aims.

According to Ifo, the Munich research institute, the developing tries have the following fundam objectives in common:

- National sovereignty on econ issues.
- A greater say in the decisions by international organisations.
- Greater benefit from econom with the industrialised countries.

In detail they aim at stable com ty prices and export earnings, o other words, higher commodity pric

Their objective here is an integ raw materials programme with a C mon Fund to finance buffer stock to promote the exploitation and pr ing of raw materials.

The Third World countries would like to increase their share of wor dustrial output from the present per cent to 25 per cent by the tu the century.

They further aim at keeping mu tional corporations in check and forming the international monetary tem to mobilise cut-rate develop aid loans.

Most of these demands are felt t unacceptable in their present form the industrialised world, although may in part be admitted to have justification.

This is conceded, for instance, in spect of Third World calls for be access to industrialised markets.

It went without saying that the C cun summit could hardly be expected accept Third World demand whole But there was a growing appreciatio North-South interdependence, w was at least a step forward.

Peter Kl

(Kieler Nachrichten, 19 Octobe

Honecker and Schmidt sense a change of climate

Soviet troops may overrun Afghan mountain villages and Poland may no longer be safe but that has not stopped Herr Schmidt and Herr Honecker from making a third attempt to hold their intra-German summit.

Relations between Bonn and East Berlin may be better pigeonholed as home affairs, in one sense of the term, and only indirectly as foreign policy, but they are a sensitive pointer to the weather in Moscow.

Superficially there has been no change in the circumstances of late. What, then, accounts for the sudden revival of interest in the intra-German summit?

Soviet interests and those of East Berlin are interlinked. Moscow always decides the issue, but the GDR does not limit itself exclusively to toeing the line laid down by Mr Brezhnev.

It allows itself to be used by Moscow while at the same time trying to put its own financial wishes into effect.

It pursues Soviet objectives in respect of the West, accepting as a binding rule the limits to leeway set by Moscow, yet aims at the same time to do bilateral business.

A number of deadlines in the West are seen by the Soviet Union as promising points on which to bring joint influence to bear.

They include implementation of the Nato missile modernisation and disarmament talks decision and the Social Democrats' party conference, due in a matter of months. So the GDR too is back in business.

In the summer of 1980, when Herr Honecker refused to allow Chancellor Schmidt to visit Rostock and Güstrow, whereupon the visit was postponed, he was worried about Poland.

With German thoroughness the East Berlin leaders expected events to take a drastic course in Poland, making it advisable to cut to bare, non-committal routine all contacts with the West.

Besides, the detailed preparations for the talks by Bonn, little of which was divulged at the time, would have made the GDR leader distinctly less enthusiastic about the intra-German summit.

East Berlin has since realised that Poland has emerged as a chronically sick man of the East bloc and badly in need of Western economic backing.

The GDR has sensed that the Soviet interest in retaining control over Poland does not extend to a ban on ties between East Berlin and Bonn. Moscow has more pressing worries.

Thus East Berlin's leeway for ties with the West has increased to an extent that allows the GDR to derive specific benefit of its own.

The GDR now seems to be considering what bilateral prospects it might have, with a view to possibly linking them with moves against the West's security policy.

East Berlin's leeway towards Bonn is more limited than it was before the summer of 1980 and developments in Poland.

The GDR has to make sure Moscow cannot even suspect that ties with Bonn might breach the policy of demarcation and lead to Polish ideas taking root in East Berlin.

That is why Herr Honecker can hardly afford to risk making substantial intra-German offers of any kind, such as a reduction of the age over which GDR citizens are allowed to visit the West.

At the same time he would doubtless enjoy being able to make a gesture of limited concession and to feel the easier atmosphere that might result from a meeting with Herr Schmidt.

The GDR leader would gladly take the kudos to be gained from meeting the Bonn Chancellor on equal terms, given that Herr Schmidt enjoys a high international reputation.

Mr Brezhnev's visit to Bonn next month should make it easier to set new bounds to East Berlin's ties with the West. The Soviet leader would be happy to see Herr Honecker given backing.

He will be in Bonn three days before the beginning of the Geneva talks on medium-range nuclear missiles, so it would be surprising if Mr Brezhnev were not to pull some spectacular offer or other out of the hat.

He might, for instance, offer a unilateral Soviet missile moratorium for the duration of the talks, expecting the West German peace movement, especially its advocates in the SPD, to ensure the West replied in kind.

The West, of course, would be expected to forgo stationing fresh missiles in Europe in return.

A unilateral missile moratorium by the Soviet Union would not, for the time being, reduce Soviet superiority, it would certainly put the cat among pigeons in the West.

Shortly afterwards, before the S party conference, Herr Schmidt is du visit Herr Honecker in the GDR.

At the last congress of the SED, H Honecker's party, the GDR sugges that intra-German progress might benefited by Bonn showing willing missile modernisation.

East Berlin has yet to say that Bo must renege on missile modernisa before the two can meet, but prep tions for the intra-German summit h not yet seriously begun.

The GDR must realise that any s sine qua non would inevitably mean summit.

East Berlin could, however, feel mere mention of linkage between B pressure on America and progress i tra-German ties over and above curr

Continued on page 5

The German Tribune

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ME AFFAIRS

olitical questions follow Schmidt's heart surgery

ancellor, Helmut Schmidt, has acemaker placed in his heart. The on, at the military hospital in , was decided on after an examination revealed that there was a danger regularities in the heartbeat.

if Chancellor Schmidt resumes normal work soon, his heart on cannot fail to have political quences.

matter how optimistic the statements on his physical condition, questions about his personal future remain they are naturally also questions the future of his government.

Free Democrats have always that their coalition with the nges on the government being by Helmut Schmidt.

idt is 62 now and must ask himself whether the warning signal from his should not make him consider up the arduous work of a Chancellor at the end of this legislative period. The Chancellor's 16-hour work day well have made him suppress or the warning that lay in the fact had repeatedly had to go to the Military Hospital for treatment.

certain people engaged in international politics have to endure and the tight schedules by which they have to abide is enormous anywhere. But Bonn appears to impose a particularly strain on the heart, which might have to do with the climate of the Rhine Valley which is anything but conducive to the cardiovascular system.

Foreign Minister Genscher, Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff, Finance Minister Matthöfer and SPD Chairman Brandt all preceded Schmidt with their heart problems.

Nobody, not even a doctor, can say for sure whether Helmut Schmidt's heart troubles are due to the constant friction with his coalition partner and to growing opposition to his policies within his own party.

Conditions within the government and the Chancellor's party are unsettled enough to have given rise to speculation in connection with Schmidt's condition.

The Free Democrats are biding their time pending the outcome of the dispute among the Social Democrats, be it on security, energy or social affairs issues.

And as to the SPD, its problem is that there is no "crown prince" in sight who could guarantee the continuity of Schmidt's policy.



Chancellor Schmidt on the way back home after the operation.
(Photo: Sven Simon)

Hans Apel and Hans Jochen Vogel have manoeuvred themselves out of the main field; Hans Matthöfer has already dismissed any such ideas due to his own heart problems.

And Willy Brandt is keeping his cards close to his chest.

One thing is for sure, however. The party's left wing, headed by Erhard Eppler, is striving for the majority even at the risk of shattering the coalition.

Helmut Schmidt's heart rhythm disorder may be corrected through the pacemaker. But the unrest in the coalition is now even more unlikely to settle than before.

Hans Jörg Sottorf

(Handelsblatt, 15 October 1981)

Opposition maintains course

CDU foreign and security policy will remain unchanged, for the time being anyway.

Franz Josef Strauss opposes any change and so do the foreign policy experts of the party and CDU journalists. Opposition leader Helmut Kohl considers that a review has already taken place.

The internal CDU dispute over foreign and security policy has flared up again sooner than anticipated.

So it is interesting to see the attitudes of CDU voters on the current issues under dispute – interesting not only for the CDU but also for SPD strategists.

It was therefore the Social Democratic planners who took the trouble to analyse opinion polls with that particular question in mind.

In doing so, they used opinion surveys made by several institutes in the first half of this year.

Some of the details that transpired are noteworthy.

- Double Nato decision: 61 per cent of CDU/CSU voters (SPD: 72) want to "negotiate immediately and not boost defences." Only 32 per cent of the CDU/CSU voters (SPD: 21) favoured the basic concept of the decision, i.e. "instant negotiations and simultaneous revamping of defences."
- 66 per cent of CDU/CSU voters (SPD: 46) approved of the thesis: "If no successful negotiations are possible, we must revamp our defences to make up for the Russians' headway." And 30 per cent (SPD: 50) opted for the formulation: "Since negotiations are tedious and take a long time, no revamping of defences for the time being because the West is strong enough anyway."
- Introduction of the neutron weapon for Nato: "Rather in favour": 47 per cent (35); "Rather against": 50 per cent (62).
- For close military, foreign policy and social ties with the USA: 27 (21).
- For military but not social ties with the USA: 51 (45).
- For military and social independence from the USA: 22 (34).

This picture of public opinion essentially corresponds to the public disputes between the politicians of the two major camps.

But the picture presented by CDU voters is much less uniform than the conservatives would like to make us believe. The differences between the CDU leadership and its voters are particularly sharp over the neutron weapon.

Disregarding the old dispute within the CDU/CSU, the picture presented by the polls is interesting for two reasons: first, the relatively strong minority of dissenters among CDU voters represents a vulnerable point of attack for the political opponent and, secondly, the minority positions extend far beyond dyed-in-the-wool CDU/CSU voters right into the political centre of the electorate.

It is from there that Geissler wants to recruit the necessary additional votes for the CDU by heavy campaigning. Kohl wants exactly the same, but he wants to go about it more discreetly.

Werner A. Perger

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 11 October 1981)

Party system comes under fire

ce since the establishment of the eral Republic of Germany have been so many complaints about ossification of our party system.

and never before have these complaints been less justified, for there are now that things are changing, not along the lines the public been clamouring for.

ing the Grand Coalition, many found that the "cartel of populist s" had a disintegrating effect that ingly favoured the extreme wings the right and the left.

when the Grand Coalition ended – for the first time in 20 years – a Democrat became Chancellor, a was taken towards a German version of a two-groupings system that was tantamount to a two-party system. Outwardly, this was demonstrated by the fact that the electorate became accustomed to the welcome institution of the chancellorship candidate.

, after 20 years of CDU chancellorships and 12 years of an SPD/FDP government, our party system has to face yet another first: how will – for the first time in German party history – a direct transition from government to opposition take place: the classical changing of the guard, so to speak?

CDU attempts to bring about this change by establishing a fourth party (as the FDP refused to go along) are all but forgotten now and must be seen as past history.

Franz-Josef Strauss and Helmut Kohl have meanwhile settled their dispute. The question as to who is to stand for the chancellorship has been postponed, though CDU opposition leader Kohl can be no means be seen as the natural candidate should a change take place during the current legislative period.

What we are faced with is an opposition that is biding its time, a "Sonthofen on a higher plane", as CDU Secretary-General Heiner Geissler recently put it.

But during this waiting period there have been many changes in the German party scene. The "Green" (environmentalist) movement that was ushered in 20 years ago by the "established" chancellorship candidate Willy Brandt and his campaign slogan "Blue Skies Over the Ruhr Region" has meanwhile spread, disregarding such conventional classifications as "left" and "right".

Former citizens' action groups have meanwhile become political parties – parties whose representatives now sit in State parliaments and city councils. At the same time, the established parties in the Bundestag have seized upon a new theme: fear and security.

There are signs of growing uncertainty – especially among the coalition parties and, to a somewhat lesser degree, among the conservatives – concerning nuclear energy.

This uncertainty, which extends all the way to the experts, reflects the difficulties of our demanding society in a world that has become more complex and, by the same token, smaller.

This new development which, in various forms, has been in evidence since the 1960s, could be a contributing factor in changing our party lanscape.

The extraparliamentary movement, riding on a tide of differing moods, sentiments and apprehensions, has long since reached the established parties. It is a movement that now presents itself as the "Greens" or the "Peace Movement" or the "Alternatives" and escapes such pigeonholing as "left" and "right".

SPD Manager Peter Glotz recently spoke of an increasing "neo-conservatism" in the peace and ecology movement.

The foreign and above all Western European response to the Bonn Peace March indicates concern over a "new nationalism from the left" rather than the revival of anti-Western civilisation fatigue.

The controversial question among the Greens as to whether their aims are better promoted within or outside Parliament has been decided inasmuch as they managed to capture seats in a number of States.

There, it has now been brought home to them how difficult it is to convert ideas and general objectives into practical politics.

Should the new movement succeed in entering the Bundestag as well in 1984, these difficulties are bound to multiply.

The SPD (and, to a lesser extent, the FDP) are likely to be drawn into the ever more dangerous vortex of splitting tendencies within their parties. This would mean that they would be weakened still further as coalition partners.

And should that happen, even Chancellor Schmidt could not dispel doubts as to their ability to govern.

Should the desire to be in the opposition – and this is no longer unthinkable – lead to a split, the conservatives waiting time would in all likelihood be shortened.

This is one way in which the first transition from opposition to government appears conceivable.

While in Britain the split of the Labour Party has improved the chances of a Liberal-Social government, the more likely possibility in this country would be a Liberal-Conservative government.

The petrification of the parties would thus be broken. But the question as to how such still diffuse trends would affect day-to-day parliamentary work in the face of diminishing growth and growing demands remains to be answered.

Hans Schuster

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15 October 1981)

■ GERMANY

The motivating forces behind the Great Arms Debate

On the 32nd anniversary of the GDR, there was a military parade on Karl-Marx-Allee in East Berlin. Tanks, missiles and the entire arsenal of modern weaponry were paraded past party officials.

"Tens of thousands of working people from the capital city lined up to greet the march-past enthusiastically," *Neues Deutschland*, the paty newspaper proudly proclaimed.

Three days later the largest demonstration since the war was held in the Federal Republic of Germany, but it was dedicated to peace.

Die Welt said: "People laugh a lot, people you have never seen in your life before link arms. White flags and banners outnumber the red, and there is music everywhere.

"There are Irish folk songs to the sound of the pipes, working class songs and chansons, then, suddenly drowning them all, the chorus of the Internationale and the strains of 'We shall overcome,' the song of the US civil rights movement.

"At the end, in response to a loudspeaker appeal, hundreds of people creep through the mud to collect waste paper and trash that are piled up in enormous heaps."

Die Welt appropriately headlined the article: "Bonn Half Fortress, Half Festival."

Several Communist organisations took



part in the Bonn demonstration. One wonders whether they would have preferred to swell the ranks of the enthusiastic crowds in East Berlin.

In Bonn they made little or no impact on the general, mainly cheerful community spirit, but that did not prevent Opposition leader Helmut Kohl from talking in terms of a Popular Front of Social Democrats and Communists.

He did so because 50 SPD members of the Bonn Bundestag had endorsed the demonstration against the wishes of the parliamentary party.

One was, indeed, left with the impression that a number of the government's critics felt unable, despite the surprisingly peaceful nature of the protest, to part company with the visions of horror they had been expecting.

Herbert Kremp wrote a gloomy editorial in the very issue of *Die Welt* from which the cheerful description already quoted was taken:

"The pathos of a new era was apparent, a note of radical change," he wrote, "which unlike the Extra-Parliamentary Opposition of the late-60s, had specific objectives."

What can have accounted for the discrepancy between the two? The demo was, of course, far from uniform. Some of the main speakers and a fair number of groups of various kinds did indeed have specific objectives.

Heinrich Albertz, for instance, the former Berlin mayor, is unable to disabuse himself of the absurd idea that the Federal Republic of Germany is an occupied country.

Erhard Eppler, a fellow-Social Democrat, former Bonn Cabinet Minister and SPD leader in Baden-Württemberg, was unable to resist the temptation to use demagogic turns of phrase such as "breaking the bonds" or "the language of slaves."

But the overwhelming majority of the 250,000 people who took part in the demo, especially the young people, did so for the experience, especially that of feeling their views were confirmed by strength of numbers.

TV reporters who asked demonstrators whether they had been on previous demos were repeatedly told: "No, it's the first time I've ever been on one."

They were also told: "Yes, I'd take part in one again provided no violence was expected."

This summer an opinion poll by Emnid, the Bielefeld market research institute, revealed that 69 per cent of people in the Federal Republic objected to taking an active part in peace movement campaigns.

A mere nine per cent had lent them support in the past, while 90 per cent were of the opinion that the Bundeswehr served to help keep the peace.

As for objectives, the appeal launched by *Aktion Sühnezeichen* and *Aktionsgemeinschaft Dienst für den Frieden*, joint sponsors of the Bonn demo, read as follows:

"We call on the governments of Nato countries to withdraw their approval of the decision to station new medium-range missiles in Europe."

The reference is to the twofold Nato resolution, reached in Brussels in December 1979, which said that the superpowers must agree to reduce the number of new Soviet missiles aimed at targets in Eastern Europe and that, failing agreement, the West would have to embark on a missile modernisation programme of its own from 1983.

So the aim of the Bonn protest was to scrap a resolution for which Chancellor Schmidt and Foreign Minister Genscher had worked enthusiastically and untiringly.

Bonn's efforts in this direction may be outlined starting with the agreement reached by Herr Schmidt and Mr Brezhnev in May 1978.

After long and difficult negotiations the two men agreed in writing that noone was to aim at military superiority and that approximate equality and parity were a sine qua non of further cooperation and arms cuts.

In June 1979 the Chancellor urgently advised the Soviet Union, which had carried on, regardless with its medium-range missile build-up, to abide by the terms of the agreement, otherwise Nato would have no choice but to go ahead with missile modernisation.

This warning was to no avail, whereupon Nato reached its December 1979 twofold decision, which was the first of its kind to use the stick and the carrot in this way. Either disarmament were to be negotiated or the States would embark on an arms up of its own.

Then the Soviet Union invaded anistan and talks between Washi and Moscow ground to a halt.

Helmut Schmidt made one of the speeches he has ever delivered Bundestag on the day before the demo.

"To those who are plagued by today," he said, "I should like to I too was worried when, at the ning of last year, the Soviet Unio invaded Afghanistan and ties be the superpowers were broken off, Washington and Moscow no longer on speaking terms, let alone ing."

It took him 18 months of hard to play a key role in ensuring that rica agreed to start official taks wi Russians on 30 November.

It was not only tough going Chancellor was repeatedly accused America of appeasement, of all himself to be intimidated by the sians and of betraying Nato.

And now the results of three work were to be jeopardised becau number of idealists believed unil disarmament was more likely to the cause of peace.

They felt that the right attitude peacemaker's frame of mind, was ough to ensure that the required affairs, peace, would reign.

When the point is argued with vinced members of the peace move it is easy to see why it is so diffic come to terms with them.

At this point reason is lined against emotion. They say they nothing for reason. Where has it got

The answer given is that $500 year is spent on arms in a world famine reigns in many areas, yet no has gained one iota in security.

Indeed, the argument continues, risk of everyone going up in smoke of these days is greater than ever.

True, the arms race and mutual de rence have kept the peace for the 36 years but are by no means tied continue doing so ad infinitum.

It could well be that the arms may gain a momentum of its own get out of control entirely.

Yet there is no indication whate that headlong unilateral disarmam would ensure greater security. Where the link between the emotional de for peace on the one hand and peace the other?

Where is the transmission? How c emotion be converted into politics?

The progress of a grassroots mo ment of this kind, unhampered objective necessities or existing han caps such as alliance commitme party conference decisions or the lik fascinating and sweeps one along.

But when the emotional upswing not followed by action, frustrati spreads — or left-wing enthusiasm followed by the desire for a right-w strongman.

The Bonn correspondent of the *N York Times* was wrong in conveying impression that anti-Americanism neutralism sent demonstrators on to t streets.

Their motives are in reality mu more deep-seated. *Angst* is the comm denominator. People are worried ab the destruction of nature in its infin variety, worried about the increas commercialisation of values and worr about the possibility of a Third Wo War.

People have always been worried

Continued on page 5

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STATE SECURITY

Taking the lid off the undercover works

Federal Republic of Germany's intelligence organisation, the Bundesnachrichtendienst, has been operating years. It is subject to control by mentary committees which are to secrecy. With a few exceptions, ency, based in Pullach near Munhas done its job well. There have few internal scandals revealed and so many renegades ready to throw a ar in the works.

any of the BND's agents are stationed abroad. They report back thing that may affect the Federal blic's security including foreign af- information, economic matters, technology and other military in- tion.

agency also watches other intelli- agencies, so it is involved in ter-intelligence, together with the for the Protection of the Consti- and its state counterparts.

carries out specific missions outside country for the government.

all this, the agency answers to the of the Chancellery, Manfred Lahnst-

's regulation manual specifically that the BND must stay out of estic affairs.

his was laid down specifically be- it has strayed into the domestic in the past, and the reverberations long and loud.

agency is headed by a president vice-president, and for the first these two offices are now held by lawyers who can look back on tic rises: Dr Klaus Kinkel and his president, Norbert Klusak, both 45. h are non-partisan and both began careers at the Bonn Interior Min- Dr Kinkel had overall charge of minister's office and later became of the planning staff at the For- Ministry. He was appointed presi- of the BND when his predecessor, ral Wessel, retired in 1979.

e BND has four departments of which Department III is seen as the most important.

It is this department that is in charge of obtaining and analysing political, military, economic, scientific and technological information.

The results are forwarded directly to the Chancellor or to the Ministry that commissioned the work. The reports are formulated in a way that makes it impossible to establish the sources of information.

Department I engages in classical intelligence work abroad through a network of informers.

Department II is in charge of technical intelligence. It relies heavily on the monitoring of the telecommunications of foreign military command posts. Unlike the operators in the field, the men who staff Department II run no personal risks.

Department IV evaluates material it is fed and drafts the relevant reports.

In doing so, it naturally makes the greatest possible use of electronic data processing.

The BND is staffed by people specialised in 30 academic professions plus civil servants, soldiers and other employees.

Its activities are governed by strict regulations and subject to tight controls.

These controls are not so much exercised by the executive branch but by parliament, through four Bundestag committees.

The control mechanisms do not follow any regular pattern but usually become active when something goes wrong.

The top controlling body is the Parliamentary Control Commission which consists of the floor leaders of the parties represented in the Bundestag and a number of MPs with specialised knowledge in the field of intelligence.

Then there is the G-10 Committee which consists of five MPs from the parties represented in the Bundestag.

Its specific control function is to watch over the strict adherence to Article 10 of the Constitution which protects the citizen from eavesdropping by the authorities.

A sub-committee of G-10 evaluates circumstances under which the constitutionally guaranteed postal and telephone secrecy may be lifted.

The BND is extremely reluctant to talk about successes or failures.

Some 300 GDR agents defected to the West between the establishment of the BND as an arm of the sovereign Bonn government (its predecessor was the Gehlen Organisation which operated under American jurisdiction) and the building by East Germany of the Berlin Wall on 13 August 1961. Another 50



Headquarters of the BND . . . where the plots are hatched and unhatched.
(Photo: BND)

defectors made their way to West Germany via various East Bloc countries.

But even during the Gehlen era the organisation was successful in uncovering and "turning" East Bloc agents operating in this country.

For a long time, Germany was a playground not only for GDR spies but also for agents from other Communist countries, primarily Poland.

It is meanwhile common knowledge that the embassies of East Bloc countries are staffed with "diplomats" on special assignments.

The BND has been instrumental in the uncovering and arrest of many East Bloc spies.

Take "Operation Bohemia" when the Americans persuaded intelligence officers of the Czechoslovakian intelligence sub-agency in Karlovy Vary to defect to West Germany. This led to the unmasking of many East Bloc agents who later stood trial in Munich.

In another spectacular mission dubbed "Operation Daisy", the chief secretary of GDR Prime Minister Otto Grotewohl was prompted to defect to this country. There have been many other unpublicised missions of this nature.

The invasion of Czechoslovakia by East Bloc troops in 1968 came as no surprise.

Not only was Bonn forewarned by direct agents' reports, but the Communications Battalion of the Defence Ministry stationed in Rheinbach near Bonn had monitored the various troop movements by radio.

The defection to the West of Lt. Stiller and his secretary in 1979 dealt a severe blow to the East Berlin Ministry of State Security.

Stiller and his secretary managed to bring with them a huge array of files on the East German intelligence network.

This bold venture caused such a setback to East Bloc intelligence that the entire spy network had to be reorganised from top to bottom.

Many East Bloc agents operating in the West were unmasked as a result of the papers.

West Germany's counter-intelligence gathered startling new insights into the methods of East Bloc intelligence operations.

In addition, the information provided by Stiller proved of enormous economic value.

It goes without saying that any information gathered is passed on to our allies.

This exchange of information takes place on a bilateral basis. The results of information gathering missions abroad and their degree of urgency are relayed to the various government departments in Bonn, primarily the Defence Ministry plus the Ministries of Economic Affairs, Interior and Science and Technology.

In the recent past, the BND has concentrated its work on developments in conflict areas world-wide, among them Afghanistan, Iran-Iraq, Chad and, lately, Poland.

The BND has its price — but then there can be no security at bargain rates.

For 1981, the federal government had to budget for DM177m to maintain the agency.

Those who get a chance to take a closer look at the Pullach headquarters are invariably startled by the spartan nature and clockwork precision of the organisation.

Though the offices in the building where, during the Hitler era, Martin Bormann planned his extermination campaigns are functional and now bear perfectly human traits, it is impossible not to get a shudder at the thought of what was done within those walls during that darkest era of German history.

The BND's work unfolds in an atmosphere of absolute devotion to duty and far from any publicity.

Naturally, there have been mistakes and they should not be swept under the carpet — any more than outstanding successes.

There was, for instance, Heinz Felfe who held one of the top positions at the agency with the reports of all agents abroad landing on his desk until the day when he was uncovered as an East Berlin spy and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment.

And a dark shadow was cast on the agency when its founder, Reinhard Gehlen, published his book *Der Dienst* (The Service) that was liberally sprinkled with internal tit-bits. It was a disservice to the service he had founded.

Carl Schopen

(Mannheimer Morgen, 10 October 1981)

Climate change

Continued from page 2

age quotas would be enough to the ball rolling.

e GDR could then sit back and experts would start negotiating on -German projects in which it is in- ted for financial reasons and Bonn terested in order to consolidate ties.

lmut Schmidt, on the other hand, ld like to reach agreement with the German leader on a reduction in amount visitors to East Berlin and GDR are required to exchange per The Chancellor will hear nothing of ms that Bonn might in any way be d loose from ties with Washington, via the peace movement.

the more Herr Honecker tries to in terms of disarmament, the more tly Herr Schmidt must concentrate intra-German affairs.

eparations so far for the intra-German summit are still very much in their y days. Both sides are waiting for Mr zhnev to visit Bonn before getting to business.

Claus Gennrich

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 16 October 1981)

Continued from page 4

this way; *Angst* has been typical of almost every generation. But it used to be held in check by religious and family ties and did not affect politics.

Nowadays it affects politics too. Religion has ceased to be the repository of the unconscious, the emotional, while the lack of historical knowledge has led to the mistaken belief that such fears have never before been so widespread.

Utopian ideas are the result. Ernst Bloch taught us that concrete utopia had a creative force, while Max Weber said that without illusions nothing truly great has ever been accomplished in the world.

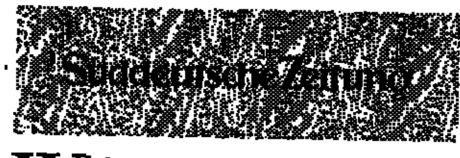
But abstract utopias and negative illusions are what motivate today's peace movement. That is what makes matters so difficult.

Marion Gräfin Dönhoff

(Die Zeit, 16 October 1981)

■ THE ECONOMY

Silver lining brightens up dark horizon



Winter approaches, and with it its negative effects on employment in the construction industry.

But there is a silver lining on an otherwise bleak economic horizon: demand from abroad has been rising since last autumn.

For many branches of industry foreign demand during the past few months has been the strongest if the not the only source of growth. It must, however, be taken into account that the weak deutschemark before the revaluation and competitive prices have improved the position of German products on international markets.

Growing exports have led to a pronounced improvement in Germany's balance of payments in the past few months.

The current account deficit, which reached a record high in the first quarter of this year, has diminished greatly, says the September Bundesbank report. This is primarily due to growing foreign trade surpluses.

But it remains to be seen whether the Bundesbank will succeed in halving last year's DM30bn deficit. This will largely depend on the development of exports and imports.

The revaluation of the deutschemark and the Dutch guilder in conjunction with the devaluation of the French franc and the Italian lira have created new economic conditions.

True, any appreciation of a currency acts as a brake on exports. But by the same token experience shows that revaluations curb inflation while devaluations speed it up. The reason is simple. Currency appreciation makes imports cheaper.

Countries that have revalued currencies must redouble their efforts to rationalise industry and to curb wage increases.

And then there is this: if a currency revalues and hence becomes internationally more valuable, more people want it, and inclination to invest in it grows.

The duetschemark's problems until the revaluation arose from exactly the opposite set of circumstances.

This, coupled with America's high interest policy, forced the Bundesbank to keep its own interest rates high: and this, in turn, curbed the business community's inclination to invest.

The recent reduction of the Bundesbank's Lombard rate by one per cent is a mere gesture that will have little practical effect for the moment.

The investment inclination in this country — a key element in bolstering the economy — is weak.

Domestic industrial orders were declining against last year in the period from May to August.

According to a report by the Organisation for European Cooperation and Development (OECD), the share of gross investments in the GNP of the Federal Republic of Germany will decline this year by a full percentage point (or DM15bn) to a share of 22.4 per cent. The major element here is the decline in housing construction investment by eight per cent (in real terms).

In 1975 there was a post-war record of 1,226 bankruptcies in the construction industry. This is likely to be topped this year with an anticipated 1,300.

The Schimmelpfeng Credit Rating Agency anticipates a total of about 11,500 bankruptcies this year — 25 per cent more than last year and 20 per cent more than in 1977.

Employment in the construction industry is likely to continue its sharp decline. Construction prices have already risen by an average of five per cent this year and the Federation of German Industry predicts futher sharp price increases starting from 1983 due to diminished capacities.

There is an investment slump in Germany today. Yet it is right now that we need massive investment to replace obsolete plant and machinery.

Across the board, German industry today operates with older machinery than it did before the mid-1970s recession.

A long-term strategy must also take into account that the number of job seekers will be rising by an annual 140,000 until 1987.

The necessary jobs cannot be created by government measures — which in any event cannot be financed for budgetary reasons.

To create new jobs we need better sales and profit prospects; in other words: a greater inclination to invest.

Bonn's Economic Affairs Ministry stressed in its latest monthly report that its greatest concern is the labour market.

The latest data released by the Federal Labour Office are anything but encouraging.

Though the number of jobless diminished slightly to 1.256m in September, this is purely seasonal.

The unemployment rate of 5.4 per cent (5.5 in August and 3.5 as an annual average for last year) "bodes ill for the winter," says Labour Office President Josef Stingl.

He anticipates a further rise next year, and does not exclude the possibility of the figure reaching 1.7m as forecast by some economic research institutes.

This would drain public coffers by billions of deutschemarks and could well lead to a sharp decline in private consumption.

There has already been a decline in private consumption this year — by about one per cent in the first half. This confirms the old experience that people save more when prospects are bleak.

The savings quota rose from 14.1 per cent in the last quarter of 1980 to 16 per cent in the second quarter of this year.

According to an analysis by Bayerische Landesbank, private consumption would have been up DM7bn had the savings quota in the first half of 1981 remained the same as last year. To keep things in perspective, it must be borne in mind that some 55 per cent of GNP is accounted for by private consumption.

And when growth in this sector falls below zero it becomes extremely difficult to make up for it by stepped up investments and exports.

Also the consumer price index for September was up 6.5 per cent ag... the same month last year.

Even if the annual inflation ave... for 1981 is unlikely to reach this al...ing figure, it is certain to exceed the... per cent mark forecast by the gov...ment.

Naturally, this has an effect on... incomes. The inflation rate next ye... likely to be curbed somewhat bec... imported goods will become cheaper.

And 1982 wage deals are likely to... more moderate than this year's.

Poor domestic demand will prob... lead to an overall decline in the GNP... one per cent, despite the fact that... GNP in the first half of this year... about the same as in the second hal... 1980.

Even so, the Bundesbank cons... that "the anticipated recession this... in other words a sustained rather th... short-term decline in the GNP, will... materialise.

"But stagnation coupled with expa...ing production capacities means that... dustry will operate even more below c...pacity than it did last year."

To sum up: There will be no rec...sion but there will also be no upswing.

Two major questions will be decisive:

- Will exports remain a viable locom...tive of growth? There can be no do... that the impulses imparted by a we... deutschemark will diminish due to th... exchange rate realignment.

On the other hand, our inflation r... is still markedly lower than that of oth... countries. Much will depend on dev...lopments on major foreign marke... Here, the past few months have provi...ed little encouragement in the EEC a... the United States.

But the Hamburg Institute for Ec...nomic Research (HWWA) forecasts... noticeable revival of world trade ne... year. The figure spoken of is a growt... rate of three to four per cent. By th... same token, this year will see a slig... decline.

- Will our public sector finances b... put on a sound footing and thus provi... a viable incentive for private inve...ment?

The 1982 Federal budget provides f... a deficit on DM27bn (down on l... year's DM35bn). The shift from th... (heavily consumption dominated) publ... sector to the private sector must not... seen as completed.

Businessmen need a clear-cut a... confidence-inspiring economic policy a... an investment incentive.

Volker Wö...

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 12 October 198.)

The world's biggest exporte...
1980 figures in $bn

Country	$bn
USA	221
Fed Rep Germany	193
Japan	130
France	116
Britain	115
Saudi Arabia	103
Italy	78
Soviet Union	76
The Nether...	74
Canada	68
Belgium	64
Sweden	31
Switzerland	30
Nigeria	27
Iraq	26
South Africa	26

Bundesbank makes borrowing just a little cheaper



The Bundesbank has lowered the Lombard rate (at which banks can use securities as collateral for borrowing) from 12 per cent to 11.

This indicates that the bank is cautiously willing to ease off the money brake.

It doesn't, however, mean that it is doing an about-face on credit policy.

Bundesbank president Karl Otto Pöhl is essentially continuing on the course he embarked on recently by providing banks with additional liquidity and so checking further interest rate increases.

This gentle loosening up was facilitated by the latest developments on foreign exchange markets.

The revalued deutschemark has acquired new lustre — not only within the European Monetary System but also against the dollar — which has improved our balance of payments and made energy imports cheaper.

The current account is showing clear signs of recovery, which is unlikely to be hampered by the fact that our export goods have become more expensive due to the appreciation of the deutschemark.

Even so, the Bundesbank has resisted demands by the trade unions to loosen up more significantly on the tight money policy because it still considers the inflation rate too high and the public sector deficit too large.

But despite this cautious attitude on the part of the Bundesbank, change could come swiftly.

Should, for instance, the deutschemark continue to appreciate, the rise in the exchange rate would have to be checked by lowering the interest rates.

The economy, with its stagnation of domestic demand, could do with such a shot in the arm.

This could well happen soon unless circumstances change.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 9 October 1981)

...ERGY

Massive plans for coal conversion run into wave of disinclination

...e Bonn government's coal deve...lopment programme adopted in Ja...nuary last year has already turned out to ...thing of a flop.

...n coal gasification projects were ...tage being considered by the Eco...nomic Affairs Ministry.

...e end of May this year, there ...ly three.

...e projects were submitted for coal ...tion. All three are now in doubt ...e there just isn't the cash avail... ...r subsidies.

...from a few pilot projects, there ...no major coal refineries in the ...or Ruhr regions, and none in the ...her.

...month the Cabinet in Bonn will ...what priority is to be given to ...will not be much.

...arch and Technology Minister ...s von Bülow says in explanation ...ere has been a world-wide reap... ...of coal refining.

...e had also been difficulties in ...g suitable locations for large-scale ...s.

...domestic coal was mainly needed ...er uses such as piped heating.

...said it would be inadvisable to ...coal to be refined into oil, gas, or ...fuel.

...ication of coal was not urgent.

...uly 1979 Bonn resolved to "forge ...with large-scale production of gas, ...fuel from coal at full speed and ...delay."

...development programme was out... ...six months later, which is fast in... ...y Bonn standards.

...rnment grants were to be provid... ...expedite the full-scale develop... ...of coal gasification and liquefac...

..."programme may not bring about ...mediate improvement in oil and ...gas supplies," Bonn said at the ..."but from the mid-80s it will ...an increasing contribution towards ...supplies."

...fining coal might not yet be eco... ..., the government said, but by the ...the first large-scale facilities were ...tional in the mid-80s it probably ...be.

...es of this kind were encouraged ...ojects submitted for consideration ...mpanies interested in grants. Four... ...were submitted by well-known ...anies such as Veba, Ruhrkohle, ...Thyssen, Rheinbraun, Flick and ...berg.

...e Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry ...up with the following equation:

...f all project proposals are imple... ...ed as planned, the demand for coal ...e refined should increase to about ...million tonnes a year and the ...nd for brown coal to about 10 mil... ...tonnes, both by 1993."

...at, after all, was about a quarter of ...demand for primary energy that coal ...brown coal met last year.

...ospects looked good for German ... and the government expected ...stments totalling DM 13bn to create ...jobs.

The immediate volume of invest... ...t in the installations currently pro... ...d should create additional employ... ...t in the region of 100,000 man-...

In other words, it would generate 10,000 new jobs lasting 10 years.

So companies in the running firmly expected Bonn to give substantial subsidies towards the cost of such a promising programme.

Companies that submitted projects to Bonn accordingly outlined the proportion of investment costs they expected the government to meet, and it was at least 50 per cent.

Krupp, for instance, wanted a 75-percent subsidy for a process that is already in commercial use abroad. Rheinbraun wanted 65 per cent towards the cost of a process that can already run profitably without a government grant.

Flick did not bother with percentages. Annual subsidies required would total DM57m until the end of the century, they said, which added up to DM1bn.

But soon after last year's general election campaign, in which a great future was forecast for German coal, the government's eagerness to subsidise development began to subside.

Seven coal gasification projects were under consideration by the Economic Affairs Ministry. By the end of May this year only three were still shortlisted.

Once Rheinbraun had agreed to manage without a government grant the sum earmarked for subsidies was cut from DM 820m to DM 549m, consisting of DM315m for a Ruhrkohle project and DM 234m for Deutsche Shell.

Economic Affairs Ministry officials are still expecting Shell, which produces gas and oil profitably in Germany, to dispense with subsidies.

That would leave one single project in receipt of subsidies, yet the Ministry still feels it has a "convincing coal gasification programme in both energy and industrial policy terms."

And this is only the current state of affairs. The government cannot be expected to have finished with pruning expenditure.

Even so, what is left of a once ambitious programme is more than Andreas von Bülow, the Research and Technology Minister, still has to show for himself.

Herr von Bülow is responsible for coal liquefaction, for which three projects were submitted. One was prepared jointly by Ruhrkohle and Veba and expected to total DM 4bn in investment costs.

Saarbergwerke's coal liquefaction project was to cost between DM 1.5bn and DM 2bn, Rheinbraun's to cost DM 1bn.

About DM 15m has been invested in preliminaries for the Ruhrkohle-Veba and Saarbergwerke projects. The last word will not be said on the Rheinbraun project until the mid-80s.

Will the first two projects at least continue to be subsidised? No-one in Bonn seems to know.

A spokesman for the Research Ministry has said a decision would not be taken until the end of the year, but Herr von Bülow is already hard-pressed to find cash to honour existing grant commitments.

So by the year's end he is unlikely to have much left in the kitty to dole out to either of the coal liquefaction projects.

He has already started to beat a retreat. Plans for a coal liquefaction project to be run jointly with the United States in Morgantown, Virginia, have been scrapped.

So the Bonn government's coal development programme adopted and proclaimed in January 1980 has proved a flop after only a year and a half.

Yet the arguments currently advanced against coal gasification and liquefaction are by no means new. Sceptics warned at a very early stage against undue euphoria.

Industrial experts knew what the score was much earlier, it seems reasonable to assume, than the Bonn government, which is now priding itself on having been so smart.

Veba's Rudolf von Benningsen-Foerder, for instance, warned a year ago not to overrate the prospects of coal liquefaction.

"In the next 20 years," he said, "the technical possibilities of coal liquefaction will make little or no difference to Germany's reliance on imports of liquid fuel."

The days when no one disputed that coal must be given priority were recalled by Karlheinz Bund, chairman of Ruhrkohle AG, when a pilot liquefaction plant at Bottrop was opened.

There were, he said, old-timers at the opening ceremony who had pioneered coal liquefaction in pre-war and wartime Germany.

In 1940, for instance, roughly five million tonnes of motor fuel had been refined from coal in the German Reich. That was 25 per cent of current motor fuel consumption in the Federal Republic of Germany.

A litre of coal-based motor fuel still costs about 35 pfennigs more to manufacture than comparable fuel refined from petroleum, but the gap is continually being narrowed.

That was why Herr Bund felt it would be wrong to wait until hydration was economic before going ahead with a full-scale plant. Waiting could prove even costlier.

This was very much in keeping with the targets of the coal development programme adopted by the Bonn government early last year.

But Ruhrkohle's board chairman chose to ignore a crucial consideration.

Bonn is no longer as enthusiastic as it was about the ambitious coal development programme.

Wolfgang Hoffmann

(Die Zeit, 9 October 1981)

Refining oil from sewage sludge

Ernst Bayer of Tübingen University organic chemistry department says crude oil could soon be refined from sewage sludge.

Professor Bayer says an improved version of the laboratory process has been costed and found to be economically feasible on an industrial basis.

He heads a three-man research team which has simulated in a closed circuit and at a temperature of 300 degrees centigrade the production of petroleum from micro-biomass of the kind found in sewage sludge.

The process takes two hours. To produce unsaturated hydrocarbons part of the biomass is converted into low-hydrogen coal and part into high-hydrogen hydrocarbons.

Unlike crude oil the resulting petroleum contains no anorganic substances and burns cleanly and without residue. The other by-product, coal, is produced in only a limited quantity.

When this coal is burnt the substances in the ash, such as heavy metals, are biologically dead and completely non-toxic. So the ash can be safely dumped on a garbage tip or used in roadbuilding.

So the process both eliminates garbage and generates energy, and investigation of various kinds of sewage sludge over the past 12 months has indicated that when the sludge converted contains 50 per cent dry matter the net energy output corresponds to the crude oil produced.

As for the cost, a converter in which sludge is dried to 90 per cent dry matter would cost between DM 10m and DM 20m, but it would cut out the cost of building sludge tanks.

Decomposition takes about 20 days and septic tanks at sewage works often break down, Professor Bayer says.

Converters would cost roughly the same to build, but they work faster, have a higher yield and are economic in sewage works catering for 100,000 people or more.

They are most economic in units catering for about 200,000 people, so not every sewage works in the country is suitable for conversion to produce coal and oil as a by-product.

But 70 per cent are, being located at points where transportation costs are low because enough sewage is available locally.

Converting sewage sludge into coal and crude oil may not solve the country's energy problems, the professor says, but it can help.

Assuming the countrywide output of sludge to be about 100 million a year, more than two million tonnes of crude oil could be refined, especially for chemicals manufacturers.

This is about two per cent of demand. It is also roughly the amount of natural petroleum produced in Germany.

Following initial probes Professor Bayer is confident garbage could also be converted into coal and oil. It would merely need to be sorted beforehand, which still presents problems.

He and his team are also examining the possibility of refining fuel from sludge dredged from rivers and harbour installations.

The long-term prospects, he says, will be much better if sludge from river beds can also be converted into crude oil and coal.

Professor Bayer is currently negotiating for the construction of a pilot plant for sewage sludge conversion. Provided agreement is reached by the end of this year the pilot plant could be in operation by the end of next year.

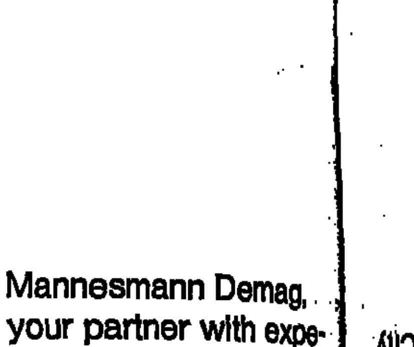
The team would then need a further year or year and a half to take another look at the environmental hazards and the output.

Then large-scale commercial exploitation of the process could go ahead.

The professor is a three-time award-winner. He was awarded a DM 100,000

Continued on page 9

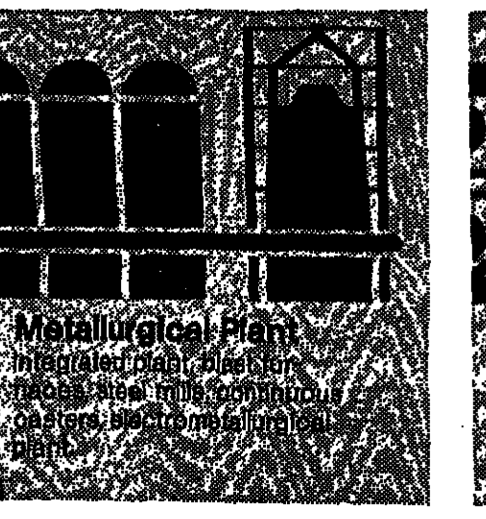
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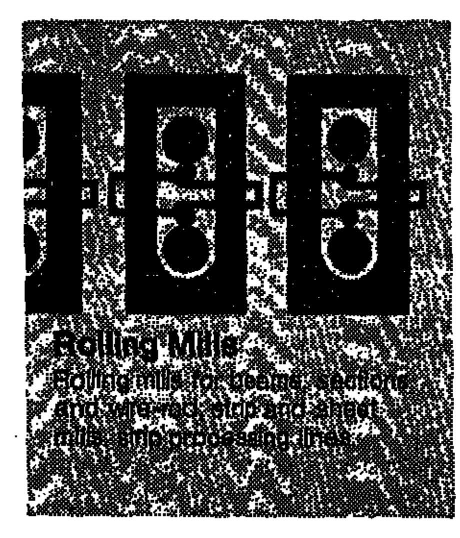


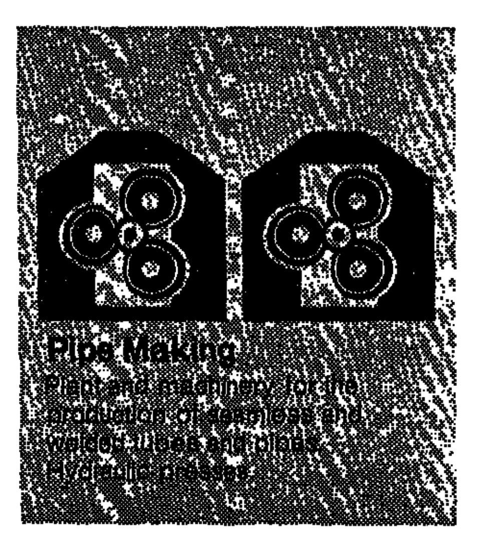
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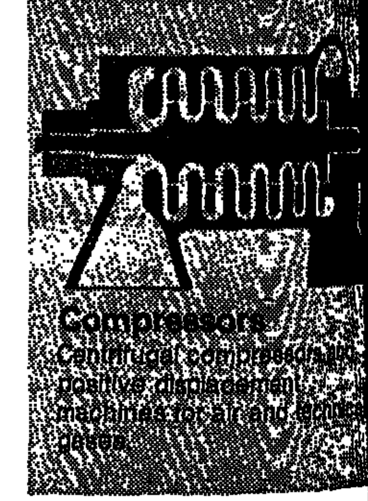
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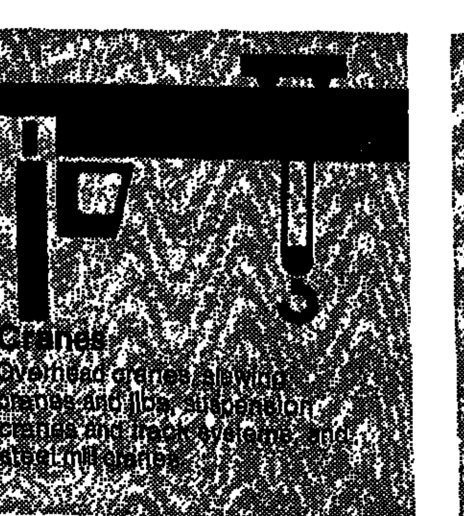
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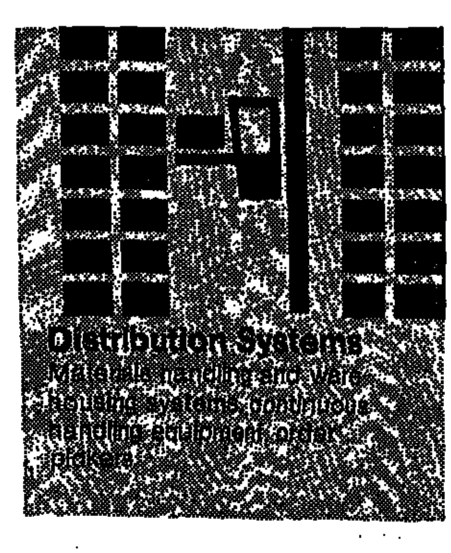


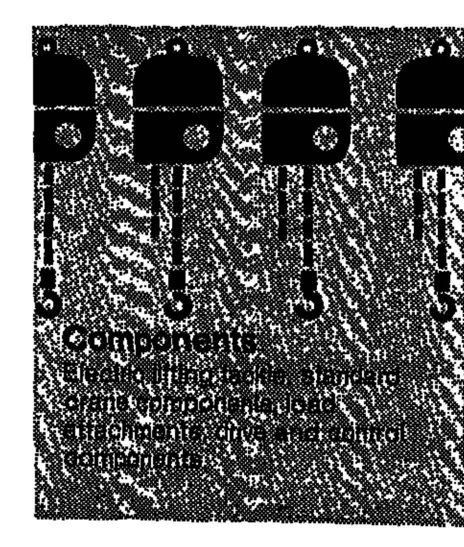


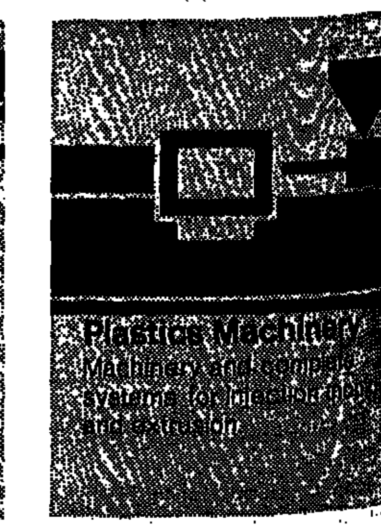


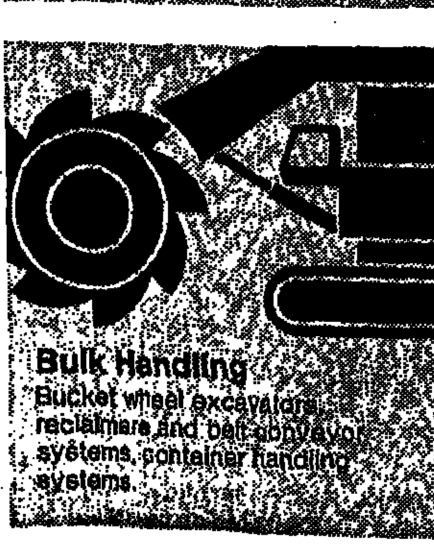


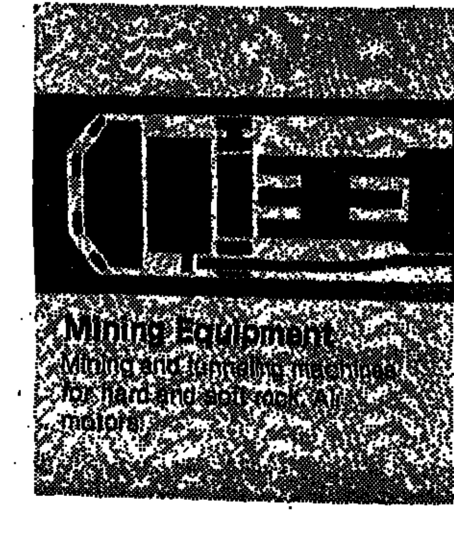


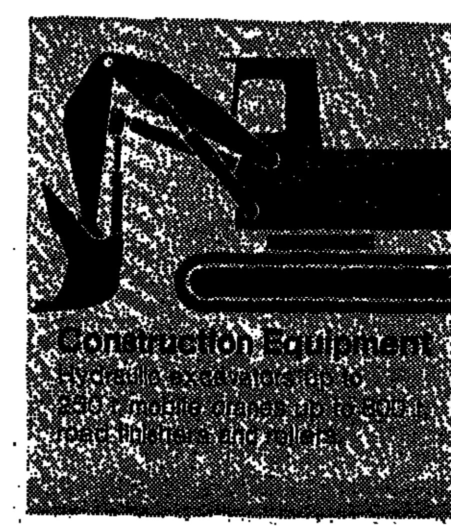


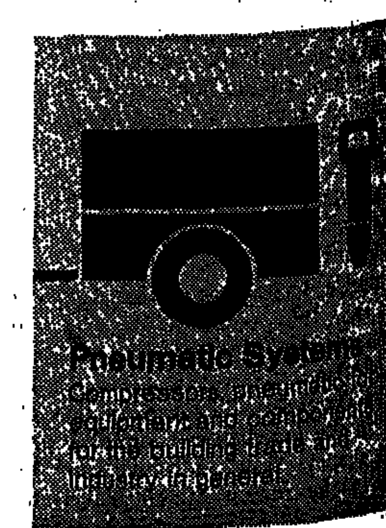






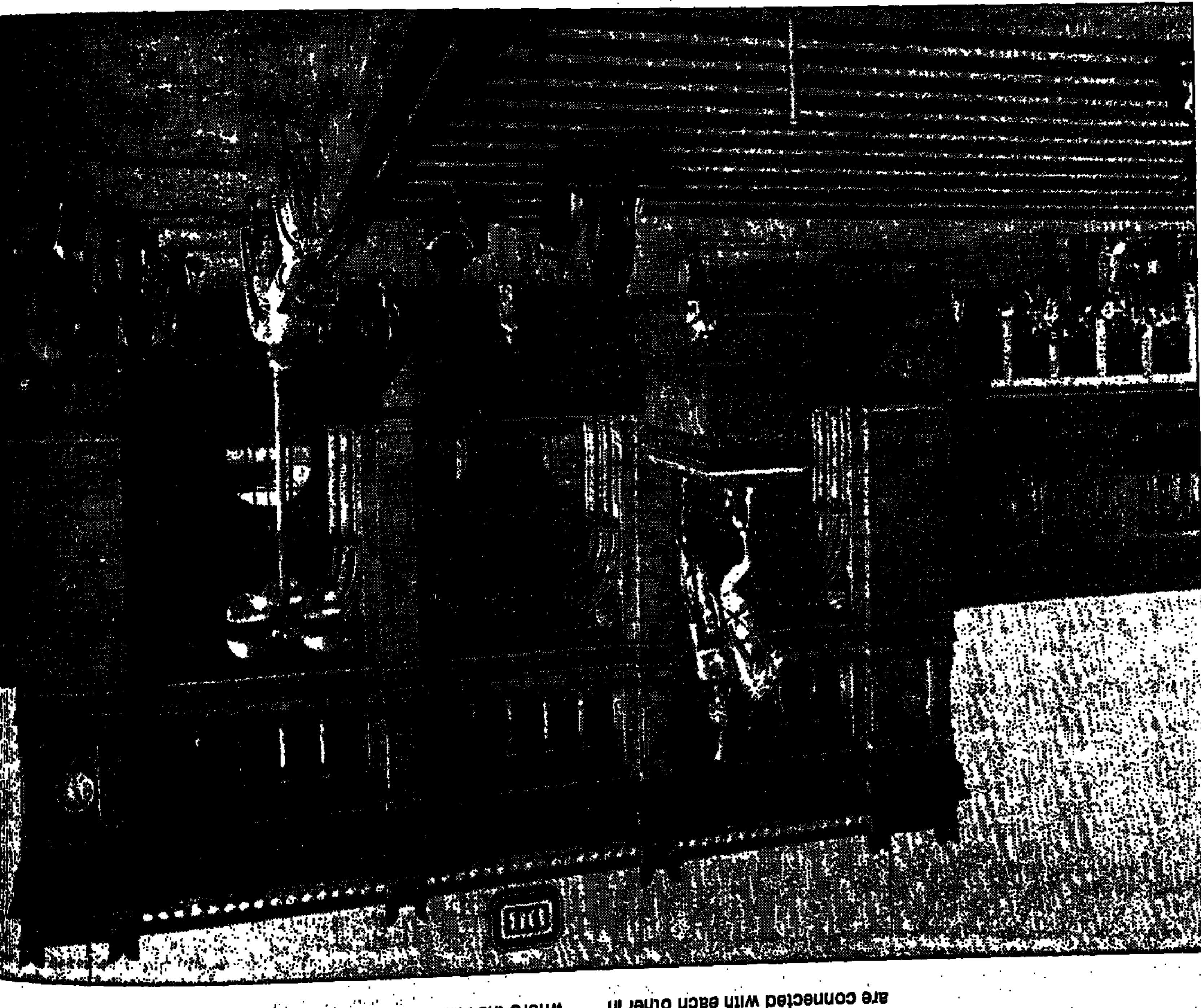




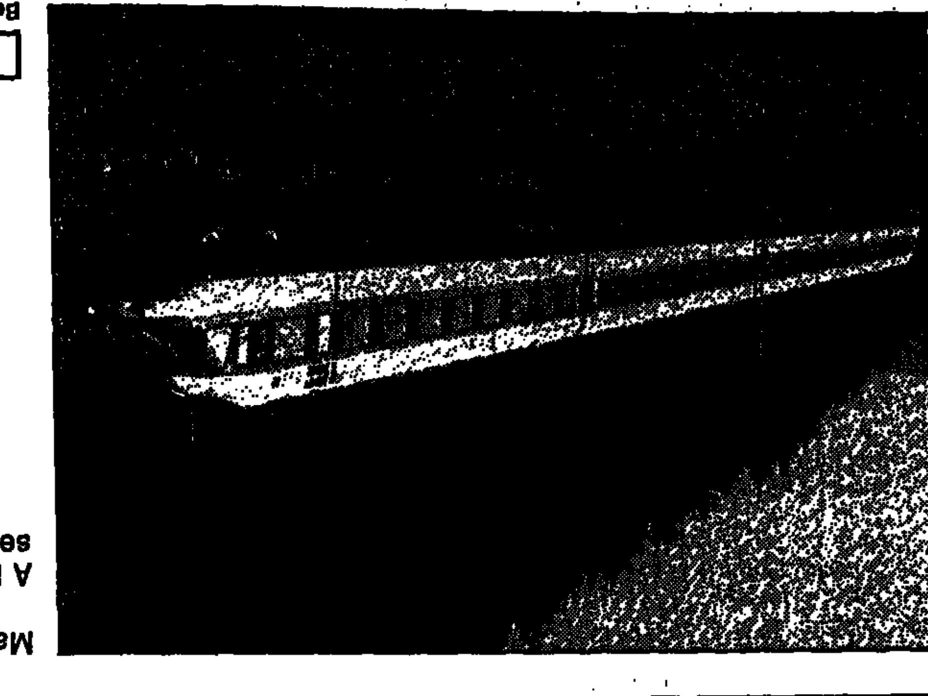


Trains and stations in Germany

How sad, you may say, that the days of the steam engine in Old Germany are numbered. It has been replaced over a period of time by fast and elegant trains, such as the ET 403, as well as by the world's most advanced inter-city system. Small and large cities are connected with each other in an hourly cycle. However: On some secondary lines small steam engines are still working and one occasionally sees the express engine 01 that was built during the roaring Twenties. A lively past can also be found in beautiful old stations. For example, in Hanover, where the inside of the station has been modernised but the o... left unchanged for 100 years... 120 year old station of Preetz... Lübeck. A dream railway line... from the Rhine through the narrow Acher valley to the B... Forest.



Main railway station, Hanov...



A Bundesbahn Inter-City service en route

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Beethovenstrasse 69, D-6000 Frankf...

■ MIGRANTS

Bureaucratic suspicion foils wedded bliss

German women and foreign men can find it difficult to get married. They have to fight prejudice, red tape and allegations that the marriage is merely a pretext so the man can get a residence permit.

A Frankfurt woman has been engaged to a Tamil from Sri Lanka for two years. They plan to marry, but it looks like taking time. Red tape has separated them.

For the past four months he has been in Sri Lanka waiting for a German visa. The aliens' police in Frankfurt are in no hurry to process his application.

First they want to know how they got to know one another and where. Why, the police have the temerity to ask, must they marry?

The woman is also expected to give an assurance in writing that her fiance will never apply for political asylum in Germany.

Their problem has been aggravated by nearly 3,000 Tamils from Sri Lanka who have applied for asylum, mainly in West Berlin, on political grounds since January.

The authorities find it hard to believe that one Tamil would like to settle in the Federal Republic for private reasons.

They suspect him of wanting less to get married than to gain unlimited right of abode in Germany.

This scepticism is not surprising. There has been a definite increase in the number of pro forma marriages with this aim.

A foreigner who marries a German girl is generally granted a three-year visa renewable on application. If he gets into trouble with the authorities he may be deported, but the threat is seldom put into effect.

Cologne registry officials have lately brought to light several bartered brides, one of whom was under the influence at the marriage ceremony.

They all admitted to marrying strictly as a commercial proposition, for a limited time and to enable the groom to get a German visa.

Marriage for a prearranged limited period is illegal, but that did not worry the Cologne brides.

Rumour has it that there are bureaus specialising in arranging such marriages of convenience. The going rate is said to be up to DM5,000 for a woman who is prepared to oblige.

The couple sign a marriage contract specifying divorce at the first opportunity and no further financial obligations on either party.

This practice has brought into disrepute thousands of mixed marriages.

Yet since the war 450,000 German women and 200,000 German men have married foreign nationals. They are joined by a further 28,000 couples in an average year.

Registry officials realise that the overwhelming majority are bona fide marriages, yet they still tend to suspect a German woman and, for example, a Jordanian man of marrying merely so the man can get a visa.

In this instance suspicions have been rife for over two years during which the couple have sought in vain to put up the banns.

They are regularly told either that some certificate or other is missing or that another has lapsed and needs renewing.

What paperwork must the man present to the registry office? That depends on his nationality and on the laws in his native country.

Turks, for instance, must have their papers certified by both the Turkish Interior Ministry and the German embassy in Ankara. It is tough luck if they have had trouble back home and the Ministry refuses to oblige.

Chileans are required to submit not only birth certificates and certificates of good conduct. They must also certify their powers of procreation.

A Ghananian who has been engaged to a Cologne woman for over a year is lucky in that he needs only to prove that he exists. But he can't. His birth certificate has been lost.

He has appealed to his relatives back home to try and find the missing document, but he has lived in Germany for 23 years and the Ghanaian authorities are not even prepared to certify that his birth certificate has been lost.

He is also unable to supply the required certification by the Ghanaian authorities that he is a single man. He wrote off for it months ago but cannot fly over and prod officialdom into action.

The difficulty here is that he has applied for asylum in Germany and is not allowed to leave his place of residence.

Yet if he were to withdraw the application he might easily be suspected of not having meant it seriously or even of having deliberately misled the authorities. So many couples head for Denmark, the Scandinavian Reno, where the authorities are less fussy about paperwork. But difficulties can arise the moment the newly-weds cross back into Germany.

An Indian who had just married a German woman was refused re-entry into the Federal Republic on the ground that he did not hold a visa for Germany.

The IAF, an association of German women married to foreigners, was set up in Frankfurt in 1972 to deal with problems such as these.

It is run by its founder-president Rosi Wolf-Almanasreh and deals mainly with aliens' law and private legal problems. It also helps with marriage guidance.

Its main aim, however, is to improve the position of German women married to foreigners and their families.

The Frankfurt association says German women married to foreign men have a harder time of it than German men married to foreign women.

They are subject to German family law but when it comes to rights of inheritance or custody the laws prevailing in the man's native country exclusively apply There is often trouble with the family and neighbours, who promptly imagine that the woman has fallen for a pair of soulful black eyes and a foreign accent. But maybe it is better to be dismissed as half-witted than to be rumoured to have married a foreigner merely to earn a little spot cash.

Petra Pluwatsch
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 10 October 1981)

10% of Fed Rep Germany schoolchil[dren] are foreig[n]

Total: 627,00[0]

45,7% Turks · 13,4% Italians · 10,3% Yugoslavs · 4,5% Spaniards · 3,3% Portuguese

Source: Education departments

Turks ponder their future as boom days disappear

In the days when the German economy was booming, recruitment agencies scoured Europe for cheap labour. One country where workmen were hired was Turkey, where Germany has enjoyed a good reputation for over a century.

Nowadays Turks who want to visit Germany need a visa, regardless whether they are visiting relatives or want to find work or apply for political asylum.

Germany today has too many people chasing too few jobs.

There are already over four million foreigners in the country, including more than a million from Turkey.

Men, women and children cannot just be sent packing, especially as more than three quarters of them have lived in Germany for over six years.

Their children are second-generation guest workers, *Gastarbeiter*. Their ties with Berlin or Cologne are closer than with Istanbul or Izmir.

Their future lies in Germany, even though Germans may not relish the prospect. Seven out of 10 foreign residents plan to stay in Germany if given the opportunity.

All would like to bring relatives who are still in Turkey. The Bonn government reckons there must be half a million children in Turkey whose parents live in Germany.

Efforts are made to stem the tide. Children who arrived in Germany in 1977 or later are not entitled to a work permit until they have spent five years living with a working parent.

Turks feel subjected to discrimination by virtue of the visa requirement, the date-of-arrival deadline and the difficulties placed in the way of naturalisation.

Most would have stayed in Turkey if they had been able to find jobs back home and had not been encouraged to work in Germany.

Initially they worked here merely to earn a living and provide for their families back home while saving to make a fresh start when they returned to Turkey.

This is still an important consi[deration]. About DM2bn a year is remitte[d to] Turkey by Turkish *Gastarbeiter* in [Ger]many.

Since the end of recruitment an[d es]pecially since the German autho[rities] have insisted on visas many have d[ecid]ed they would do better not to [make a] fresh start back home.

If their business venture back[fired] they will no longer be entitled to [return] to Germany. So they have rearr[anged] their priorities.

This is less problematic now th[at there are] Turkish communities in most Ge[rman] cities, so Turkish residents can feel at home and among themselves.

But how are they to be integra[ted] what are such totally different Ge[rman] surroundings? The Turks and their [chil]dren remain aliens.

Koran schools teach the chil[dren a] sense of values and a moral code [total]ly different from what is customa[ry in] Germany. According to Islam, [girls] should stay at home and not go to [jun]ior schools.

Islamic clergymen teach them to [recite] verses from the Koran in Arabic [written] from right to left. They then often [have] difficulty learning to read and wri[te the] Roman script when they go to Ge[rman] schools.

Turkish girls are expected to w[ear a] headscarf out of doors, which m[akes] them even more different from t[heir] German classmates at school.

They are already handicapped by having learnt German at home. Be[sides,] at the Koran school they are w[arned] against everything German, which [fos]ters mistrust and mutual prejudice.

The result is a vicious circle a[ggra]vated by the social discrimination [from] which Turks suffer in any case. W[hich] is why:

- Very very few Turkish childre[n at]tend German kindergarten.
- Only six per cent qualify for s[econdary] school.
- Two out of three even fail to [get] the junior school certificate.
- Only 50 per cent attend school.
- And 8 out of 10 foreign schoo[l-lea]vers fail to find an apprenticeship.

Mayor Richard von Weizsäcker [of] West Berlin has called for relaxation [of] naturalisation procedures for guest w[ork]ers. His city happens to have the la[rgest] Turkish community outside Istanbul [and] Ankara.

As for Turks who are reluctant to [in]tegrate, he would like to send th[em] home.

Hans-Hermann K...
(Die Welt, 5 Octob[er 1981])

Safety at work

Continued from page 12

750,000 certificates a year that patients would for health reasons be well advised to change their jobs.

Imagine, he said, if a works doctor were to agree in a specific instance and argue the case with an employer who failed to see the need to transfer a member of staff to another department.

The employee would then probably complain to the local factory inspectorate, with the result that the works doctor would be sacked.

The union representative promptly said that works councils ought to have a say in the selection, appointment and dismissal of works doctors even though they might be employed on a freelance basis and paid fees, which would not normally make them come within the purview of the works council.

Klaus Heinemann
(Rheinische Post, 9 October 1981)

SPORT

Germany seals place in world soccer cup

[W]est Germany beat Austria 3-1 in Vienna to qualify for next year's World Cup tournament in Spain, [but it] was not a sparkling performance. [For] much of the game the German [team] seemed confused and without a [pla]n.

[Th]e only encouraging feature was the [go]al debut in the national team by [Pierr]e Littbarski of Cologne.

[Br]iegel, Fischer and Breitner, of [Bayer]n Munich, were unimpressive.

[Th]e game was played to a full house [of 7]0,000 at Vienna's Praterstadion and [tout]s were selling tickets outside the [groun]d for the equivalent of DM300.

[Bu]t what the fans saw for their mon[ey w]as anything but a good, spirited or [intere]sting game. The home team kept [stric]tly to tactics.

[A]ustria fielded two strikers (Krankl, [mar]king Karl-Heinz Förster, and [Scha]chner, against Briegel).

[B]ehind them the midfield and backs [move]d in block formation with no other [aim] in view than to upset the rhythm of [the] German game and to hem in the [attack]ing forwards so effectively that it was impossible to sustain an attacking move over several passes.

Germany replied with tactics that were equally unattractive. The visitors concentrated on short cross-passes to try and tempt the Austrian backs to break ranks.

There were certainly moments at which one could be excused for imagining there was no system whatever behind the German game.

Manfred Kaltz wasn't able to give Littbarski room to manoeuvre in.

Karl-Heinz Rummenigge of Bayern, the German captain, also kept right. Centre-forward Klaus Fischer was on his own and saw next to nothing of the ball on the left.

Austria's plan became apparent in the 16th minute when Germany's Felix Magath lost the ball. Pezzey kicked the ball way ahead to the right, where Schachner outplayed Briegel and scored.

But the jubilitation was short-lived. A minute later Littbarski equalised, followed four minutes later by Magath, who headed Germany into the lead after a cross-pass from Kaltz.

Pierre Littbarski ... on the way in.

Thereafter the game was mostly boring, and in the second half the German team looked even worse.

Team manager Jupp Derwall tried desperately from the sideline to sort his team out and get them on to the attack, but in vain.

The visitors allowed themselves to be tied in knots by the Austrian tactics.

One reason was that Paul Breitner played his poorest game since making his comeback to the national team.

Kurt Röttgen
(Die Welt, 15 October 1981)

Bitterness at the end of a career

[G]erd Müller player soccer in Olden[burg] the other week. Three thou[sand] people saw him and applauded po[litely] when he called it a day at half[-time].

[It] was only a friendly, nothing drama[tic]; the result didn't matter, the goals [didn't] count for anything special, the [game] was anything but memorable.

[Bu]t is it sad to see soccer stars of yes[teryea]r unable to hang up their boots [whe]n the time comes.

[Ge]rd Müller is a run-of-the-mill name. [T]here are said to be soccer fans who [have] never heard of him. But in his day [his name a]lone was enough to ensure a full [hous]e.

[C]rowds of 3,000 would turn up just to [see] him train. He was surrounded by [eag]er fans wherever he went.

[H]e was dubbed "Bomber der Nation," [not] a particularly elegant term, perhaps, [but] certainly his. The nickname stuck [beca]use of his goal-scoring habits.

[H]e won four German championship [med]als with Bayern Munich, four Euro[pea]n Cup-winner's medals and a World [Cup]-winner's medal.

[H]e scored 68 goals in 62 games for [his] country. Seven times he scored more [goal]s in a season than anyone else in [th]e *Bundesliga*.

He was a member of the European [Ch]ampionship team, the world cham[pion]ship team and was Footballer of the [Yea]r.

He now plays for the Fort Lauderdale [Stri]kers, and even there his current show[ing] is so poor that coach Eckhard [Kr]atzun, a fellow-German, has been re[gul]arly leaving him out.

[I]n August 1979 Müller was enthusias[tic] about Fort Lauderdale. "Wherever I [get] out of my car," he said, "people want [to] shake hands with me." Now he is [sic]k and tired: "I've had enough."

He is even more bitter about Germa[ny]. He has sold his property. His Mu[nic]h sports business has been taken over [by] former ice skater Manfred Schnell[dor]fer.

Müller wants to stay in America for [goo]d and maybe open a soccer training [cen]tre or do something else, but above all to get out of Germany, where he feels he has been given such a raw deal.

Gerd Müller ... on the way out.
(Photos: Horstmüller)

He has his reasons. In 1978 he was awarded the Federal Order of Merit, yet a year later he was no longer good enough to hold down a place in Bayern's first team.

He was 33 and has scored 365 goals in 427 Bundesliga appearances, but in professional soccer you are soon a star but even faster a has-been.

In February 1979 Munichs manager Pal Csernai replaced him in Frankfurt because his play was not up to standard. It was the first time he had been substituted in his career; he has probably still not overcome the humiliation.

A few weeks later he was divorced. Officially Bayern gave him a free transfer to the States; unofficially the Munich club were said to have asked for DM50,000.

So it looks like the end of a sporting legend, that of poor boy Gerd Müller who left school to become a weaver, was signed by Bayern Munich for a few hundred marks in 1964 and capped for Germany two years later.

He was said to be grossing about half a million marks a year, happily married, a good father to his children and one of the squad about whom Uli Hoeness said, just before the 1974 World Cup tournament in Germany:

"If we win this one we will all have it made for the rest of our lives."

So why worry about a man who need not worry about financial hardship or even the prospect of it? Because money is not everything.

Müller was always a decent sort. Fame did not go to his head. He was never involved in underhand dealings of any kind. Yet when the time came he was put out to graze without a second thought.

He would have appreciated a final game sponsored by the DFB, the Frankfurt-based German FA. Not for the money but as a fitting end to his career.

He was promised a testimonial game but the officials forgot — even though he, in 1974, had scored the goal that won Germany the World Cup in his own Munich.

With the aid of Müller and his teammates the DFB netted DM12.5m from the 1974 World Cup tournament.

True, the players earned DM70,000 each, which was more than their 1954 predecessors. Fritz Walter and the team that won the 1954 World Cup in Berne, Switzerland, had to make do with DM1,100, a TV set and a washing machine each.

So there is no reason to feel sorry for Gerd Müller for financial reasons, but one is bound to sympathise with him personally, especially as he has been unable to call it a day when the time would have been right.

Müller will probably carry on trying to hold his own in the US league, which is not renowned for its standards, and he is likely to suffer further humiliation and maybe even ridicule. Fame is fickle.

Horst Schüler
(Hamburger Abendblatt, 8 October 1981)

The tale of the lone dribbler

Pierre Littbarski, 21, may smile and flash a pair of dark eyes but he looks a little lost and embarrassed at times now he is headline news for his soccer footwork for Cologne and Germany.

He is 1.68 metres (5ft 6in) tall, weighs 64kg (141 lb) and has been on Cologne's playing staff for three years.

The way he manages to outplay his opponents and hold on to the ball has wildly exaggerating his skill, but no-one can deny that he won Cologne's Bundesliga away match in Bielefeld almost singlehandedly.

He scored twice and his opposite number, Peter Krobbach, an experienced player, was still dazed hours after the game.

"The only way to deal with him is to mark him closely for the full 90 minutes," he said, "but that is hardly football and looks pretty stupid."

Littbarski cost only DM50,000 when he was spotted in Berlin playing for Hertha's colts, by Karl-Heinz Thielen, then Cologne's team manager. He was a bargain basement buy compared with what it cost the club for others in a forward line including Klaus Allofs, Klaus Fischer and Tony Woodcock.

"His legs are so crooked he oughtn't to be able to run properly," says SV Hamburg's international fullback Manfred Kaltz. But comments such as these, no matter who makes them, leave Littbarski undismayed.

"They're only people," he says, "and football is art."

Not everyone is happy with his individual style of play. Cologne manager Rinus Michels has threatened to fine him DM2,000 for hogging the ball.

And he says he will give the player a ball as a birthday present so he will always be able to play alone.

That would have been unfair. It is a pleasure to see Littbarski dribbling his way through the opposition, as the German team manager Jupp Derwall would be the first to agree.

"I don't forbid players to dribble, you know," he said before the World Cup qualiflying game against Austria in Vienna that was Littbarksi's debut for his country.

"If Littbarski has a good game his debut could be a bomshell." He scored twice, so he cannot be said not to have lived up to expectations.

So at 21 he has reached the top. He has long wanted to be a soccer pro, almost ever since he first went it alone with the ball.

"I felt confident I could hold my own in the second division, and maybe the first," he says. "I certainly prepared for a career in the Bundesliga."

He was so confident that on the day he signed for Cologne he abandoned his apprenticeship with the inland revenue. He only started training to be a taxman because his parents insisted he took up a regular job.

But he still has a good head for figures. When his first contract with Cologne expired a few months ago he was unhappy with the terms the club offered him. He had more or less agreed to terms with Leverkusen when Cologne offered more and he agreed to stay and sign on for another three seasons.

His wife Monika has been given the job of keeping the family's finances in order. But on one point she need have no worries. He doesn't touch alcohol, not even beer.

Hermann Weskamp
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 13 October 1981)

■ HEALTH

'It's better for your sanity' to face up to risk of radioactive Armageddon

People should not suppress the fear of nuclear death — they should endure it, says a Giessen specialist.

Horst Eberhard Richter, a psychosomatic expert, told a conference that those who failed to sense the danger and were not afraid of a radioactive Armageddon were more mentally unbalanced than those who did and were.

He was addressing this year's *Gesundheitstag*, or health congress, in Hamburg.

The congress is organised by a wide range of groups opposing in varying degrees practices of the medical establishment.

Professor Richter said that the enormous potential for nuclear destruction ought to be regarded as the common enemy of mankind.

Professions that had anything to do with health and people's wellbeing should show a greater commitment to maintaining life as we know it.

He said civil defence measures including fall-out medicine merely fostered an illusion that there was a reasonable chance of surviving atomic warfare.

The keynote of the conference was discussion on *differences between health* and medicine, a contrast arguably first noted by Ivan Illich in his book *Medical Nemesis.*

He illustrated what he meant with the story of a patient who went to the doctor to get a splitting headache cured.

The doctor gave him a thorough check, including X-rays and laboratory tests, diagnosed a complaint that had nothing to do with the headaches and suggested a complicated course of treatment.

He is no longer interested in the patient's headaches, said Illich.

Yet these headaches are all the patient is troubled by.

Illich tells this tale to illustrate, as he sees it, the distinction between subjective well-being and objective health, between suffering that is felt and ill-health that is a deviation from the physical norm.

"Health has never interested me all that much, I'm afraid," he said. But years ago Illich caused an uproar with his somewhat exaggerated claim that modern medicine had become a serious threat to health.

Should school medicine be scrapped, then? This was certainly one of many questions asked in Hamburg.

Illich had nothing new to say, but the conference itself was proof that his ideas have taken root. Or maybe he was simply the first to sense that alternative medicine was in the offing.

None of the 10,000 to 15,000 people at the conference, except Illich, seriously proposed abolishing medicine altogether.

Illich wants to because he feels even alternative medicine is much too medical.

What was suggested was a radical reduction of the health business, bringing it down to a more human size, because the trouble and expense of medicine today achieves too little in the way of health (or rather, well-being).

An environmentalist group from Freiburg, the Black Forest university town,



warned that the positive stimuli at the first *Gesundheitstag*, last year in Berlin, threatened to fall foul of obscure sectarianism and "garden dwarf" medicine.

The Freiburg group called for first-rate medical care and demanded the waiving of all cost-cutting measures imposed on the health service.

This demand is one made by most medical associations of the established, conventional variety, so there was not much to choose between them on this occasion.

Yet the medical establishment and its alternative stablemate, maintained by medical students and others in medical professions, choose either to ignore one another or to be allergic to each other.

On the establishment side one medical journal bitterly criticised another for as much as having mentioned the Hamburg conference, which was allegedly tantamount to endorsing it.

Yet it the medical establishment had sent observers to Hamburg it would have realised that the two sides have much in common.

It did not, however, and was not invited, any more than journalists representing commercial newspapers were invited, to cover the conference (but turned up regardless).

If medicine cannot be abolished entirely, maybe it should be cut back to reasonable dimensions. Maybe, but this aspect was given surprisingly little attention in Hamburg.

Surprisingly little inasmuch as the Hamburg conference seemed to be predominated by jeans and Indian cheesecloth and müsli-eaters, who might have been expected to espouse an anti-viewpoint.

Karl Friedrich Masuhr, a Berlin doctor, gave a lecture entitled *Wider die Heilsucht* (Against the Addiction to Cure) in which he lampooned the obsession of both doctors and patients with curing.

But his audience failed to see the point and was, for the most part, surprised and indignant.

A doctor speaking from the floor conceded that too much attention might be paid to diagnosis, therapy and psychiatry but said that the problem, as he saw it, was that he was already unable, for economic reasons, to do enough for his patients.

What did one want, more medical care or less? This was how Udo Schagen, another Berlin doctor and member of the left-wing conference brains trust, put it.

This question was an issue on which views differed both at the Hamburg conference and elsewhere in the medical profession.

The staunchest advocates of ever more medical care include the trade unions, as a platform debate arranged by the unions showed.

They want more manpower and more material and no cuts at all, especially of institutions. ÖTV, the public service and transport workers union, is strongly opposed to the gradual closure of psychiatric wards.

Why are they so keen on more medical care? Because it means safe jobs, which cuts could endanger.

Apart from a frew health sectarians *with fixed ideas and similarly dogmatic* left-wingers, medical and social workers showed an encouraging tendency at Hamburg to practise self-criticism.

At well-attended meetings on Hamburg's university campus the[...] themselves to be called into q[...] critical patients.

Patients' power was very m[...] dence, be they old people (t[...] Panthers) or wheelchair-bound [...] Cripples Group).

For a group to identify the[...] cripples is in itself an interest[...] lopment. Have the disabled d[...] shift for themselves in the Yea[...] Disabled?

"At the moment we are [...] where more and more people [...] to find employment," one m[...] wheelchair said. "They can't [...] allow us to shift for ourselves."

He wasn't prepared to allow [...] to be helped until he knew [...] helper's motives were.

The helpers' reactions were [...] of helplessness and perplexity [...] have begun to wonder themse[...] their role and that of the majo[...] tions is in the medical care busi[...]

The conference testified to a [...] tendency towards self-help. This [...] cause the medical profession [...] neglected the patient as an [...] and showed more interest in hi[...] toms than how he felt.

The chronically sick and dis[...] increasingly coming to realise t[...] low-sufferers are the most likely [...] understanding for their plight.

Members of the medical pr[...] are also coming to see that [...] others to help themselves might [...] the best approach in many cases.

One group represented in H[...] was a group of women cancer p[...] from Neukölln, a West Berlin [...] who had got together after m[...] post-operational care.

They had set about coming [...] with their complaint and stro[...] pressed a mainly younger audien[...] *their frankness, their* determin[...] live and the courageous way [...] they sought to look after their [...]

Rosemar[...]

(Der Tagesspiegel, 8 Octo[...])

Dispute over safety at work policing

Industrial safety precautions in the Federal Republic of Germany are said by experts to be among the best, yet there were still 700,800 industrial injuries reported in the first *six months* of this year.

There were also 20,300 cases of industrial injury leading to partial or complete disability and pension claims, and the percentage of cases that evade the statisticians is said to be extremely high.

Both figures were down on the first half of 1980 but industrial safety standards are proving extremely expensive to maintain.

There are 73 industrial injury insurance boards and 69 factory inspectorates to police and enforce industrial safety regulations.

Much of the work they carry out overlaps, the 17th congress on industrial safety and labour medicine was told in Düsseldorf. How can this be avoided?

A panel representing the various authorities and interested parties and organisations debated the problem.

The employers complained of increas*ing red tape and the danger* of growing external interference in companies' powers of decision (including court cases), with the disincentive to investment they entailed.

The trade unions defended this trend. It had, they said, been absolutely essential to introduce new accident prevention regulations, to impose new working materials ordinances and to pass a new Chemicals Act to deal satisfactorily with the handling of carcinogenic substances at work.

A series of lectures on dangerous working materials emphasised the need for all these measures. There are, *for instance*, now more than 1,000 substances considered so dangerous that a statutory warning on the package is required.

They include substances containing solvents, paint, printing ink and glue. The air must be regularly checked where carcinogenic materials are handled.

This particularly applies to metals manufacturers and processers who use beryllium, cobalt and nickel either pure or in alloys. All can cause cancer.

Industrial safety regulations must be designed to ensure that these dangerous materials are handled in such a way as to keep health hazards to a minimum.

Accident prevention regulations in respect of cancer specify that carcinogenic materials wherever possible must be handled in closed circuits or in devices where either a vacuum is maint[...] the air that comes into cont[...] them is extracted.

Accident prevention, the p[...] agreed, is the employer's respo[...] The unions did not approve of [...] the employee might be required [...] form in this respect.

The employers countered tha[...] must surely be a matter of co[...] asmuch as the employee ought [...] duty-bound not to endanger his [...] mates.

Views also differed on whethe[...] when staff ought to be entitled to [...] to do a *job because the mana[...]* had failed to observe accident p[...] tion regulations.

The employers said any such [...] ment would be tantamount to [...] staff to adopt an uncooperative at[...]

Yet there was widespread sup[...] the congress for the trade [...] demand to give employees an [...] right to lodge complaints with the [...] orities when regulations were ignored.

Works doctors are *still in a d[...]* position because they are supposed [...] to give the management spe[...] advice and to look after staff intere[...]

One works doctor indicated the [...] of the difficulty by reminding the [...] gress that general practitioners [...]

Continued on page 14



SOCIETY

Censors work to keep young readers pure of mind

[...]ere may no longer be an index of books banned by the Vatican but [...] still is one in Bonn, where the Social and Free Democrats might [...] expected to approve of censor-[...]

[...] a book, bound in green, entitled [...] of Books, Magazines, Periodicals [...] Other Items Listed as Harmful to [...]g People.

[...] things aren't as bad now as [...] 30 years ago when this [...]ct from a Bonn-banned book en[...] *Andrea und die rote Nacht* (An[...] and the Red Night) upset people:

[...]The flames of the fire in the hearth [...] a faint light on the two of them, [...] and woman, whose embrace sub[...], grew more gentle and got rid of [...] brackets of desire.

[...]Set against the fantastic flower patt[...] of the cushion, the woman's deli[...], tender head seemed like a pale [...] against a gaily-coloured back[...]nd.

[...]Her long, dark hair ran over the edge [...] the wide couch. In the semicircles of [...] closed eyes violet shadows played [...] the specks of light that seemed to [...] over from the fire.

[...]Her mouth was slightly open and [...] wetly as though it still awaited [...]ummation of the kiss that had pres[...] her lips apart.

"The woman's white body was interrupted in its regular outline by the brown body of the *man, which in the* semi-darkness, the velvety twilight of the room seemed vaguer in outline.

"It was as though it had been partly extinguished in the aftermath of heady delight." So much for Andrea and her red night.

In the early 50s the book upset the *Bundesprüfstelle für jugendgefährdende Schriften,* or Federal investigation department for publications harmful to young people.

This piece of purple prose (it has not aged well) was read out to a Bonn court as an instance of how the novel might deprave innocent youngsters.

All told, and in retrospect, the case must have recalled memories of books being burned, as they were under the Nazis.

Titles currently indexed include more straightfoward references to what the reader may hope to find, such as the title The Lust Machine or pseudonyms such as Christine Lüstern.

The index first lists 100 pages of books and paperbacks, then come magazines, films, records, tapes and video cassettes from Germany and abroad.

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It includes, incidentally, the first German edition of *Penthouse* magazine.

The publisher of this secular index is Rudolf Stefan, head of the Bundesprüfstelle, at its head office in the Bonn suburb of Bad Godesberg.

He is not an avenging angel keen to ban porn, the glorification of violence and Nazi nostalgia. He is an ex-judge who since 1969 has held down a job that is occasionally controversial and frequently unpleasant.

He heads a Bonn government agency with a staff of four and an annual budget of DM 500,000. It only lists items on request, passing judgment only when complaints are registered.

Herr Stefan well realises that his agency is caught in a cleft stick between misunderstanding and misuse, but he readily explains what he feels its role is nowadays.

It is "to mark out borderlines as times change so that pluralistic society does not plunge into chaos."

Article 5 of Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, reflects the constraints on his department and its work. It clearly states that there is to be no censorship.

But it promptly qualifies the statement, adding that the rights outlined are subject to the laws of the land in general, to regulations to protect the young in particular and to right of personal honour.

This is the constitutional provision on the basis of which the Bundestag passed legislation on publications likely to harm young people and set up the *Bundesprüfstelle.*

Indexation is not a wholesale ban; it merely means that the book, film or tape may not be offered for sale to children or youngsters under 18.

It must not be exhibited for sale in shop windows or sold by mail order or stocked by lending libraries. Advertising is also illegal.

Restriction on gaining from publicity

This is to avoid indexation having an effect opposite to the one that was intended. Advertisers may neither mention indexed titles nor broadly hint that they have been or are likely to be indexed.

Cases are considered by 12-member panels consisting of a chairman, three vice-chairmen representing the *Länder* or Federal states and one member each to represent art, literature, the book trade, publishers, youth associations, the youth welfare authorities, the teaching profession and the Church.

Rulings are gazetted in the *Bundesanzeiger,* but although anyone is at liberty to read them the prurient are unlikely to pore over the unexciting pages of the official gazette.

Offences against the Act are punishable by fines or up to 12 months in prison. But neither is much of a deterrent, especially as they are seldom imposed.

The bans on advertising and display are more effective, but publishers of porn, Nazi works and books glorifying war enjoy the advantage of being able to market their output long before the *Bundesprüfstelle* can start proceedings.

For a while it looked as though the department would not only forfeit respect but also grow superfluous in the wake of the permissive society.

Partial relaxation of the ban on porn has eased pressure in some ways but still *has a long way to go before the products* of a sick imagination no longer need to be kept in check.

There is still published material in plenty that would upset adults, not just children, especially permutations of murderous cynicism, porn, violence and bestiality.

The department has also taken on a more specifically political role, acting on recommendations by the Federal Minis*try of Youth, Family Affairs* and Health, to which it is responsible (although the Ministry is not authorised to issue direct orders).

This dates back to a 1976 Bundestag question tabled by SPD parliamentary party leader Herbert Wehner, who had just returned from a visit to Poland.

"Does the Federal government feel," he asked, "that indexation of Nazi propaganda by the *Bundesprüfstelle* is a suitable means of stemming the tide of what is evidently a growing flood of such material in the Federal Republic of Germany?

"What does the government intend doing to enable the *Bundesprüfstelle* to work more effectively in this sector?"

Youth, Family Affairs and Health Minister Antje Huber responded by empowering all youth authorities in the country to register complaints with the *Bundesprüfstelle whenever they came* across:

"Publications with an immoralising or brutalising effect or inciting violence, crime and race hatred or glorifying war."

"There have since been an increasing number of cases in which books, records or films glorifying the Nazi regime or the war were indexed."

Yet the bulk of material indexed continues to be porn. Last year 290 items were *indexed, 182 for discriminating* against the female sex.

Five were cases of work glorifying the Nazi era and the war, 23 were indexed for inciting to violence, 13 for incitement to take drugs and 30 for pornography that was not classified as discrimination against women.

Permanent indexation is a particularly effective weapon. A periodical or series that is a third-time offender is indexed for good, including all further issues.

Permanent indexation was last year ordered in respect of one instance each of glorifying the Nazi regime, drugs and violence. Two instances related to pornography and 32 to discrimination against women.

"Few would deny the need to protect children and young people from the poison of violent and inhuman pornography and fresh lies about Nazi crimes.

The problem is where to draw the line between this general necessity and the specific possibility of effectively imposing censorship aimed at adults on the pretext of a publication being harmful to the young.

Herr Stefan has at times disarmed critics by allowing them to check material on the index. They have usually taken a quick look and seen his point.

Yet he *realises that times change and* that the breasts bared in Hildegard Knef's post-war film *DievSünderin* (German title: 'The Women' Sinner) would no longer upset even the clergy.

Helmut Herles

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 8 October 1981)